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THE RECONSTRUCTION OF *ATHARVAVEDA PAIPPALĀDA*, V.18

By

DIPAK BHATTACHARYA, Santiniketan (W. Bengal)

§1. *Introductory :*

The following is a text-critical reconstruction of the *Atharvaveda Paippalāda*,[1] V. 18 along with exegetical comments, a translation and the discussion of a few relevant points. The basic *MSS* are five in number. Four of these are palm-leaf manuscripts in Oriya character discovered in the late fifties by the late Professor Durgamohan Bhattacharyya.[2] The fifth one is the birch-bark Kashmir MS chromophotographically reproduced by Garbe and Bloomfield in 1905.

The hymn is not exclusive to the *AVP*, but occurs also as *RV*. X.137, *AVŚ*. IV.13, among *Saṃhitās*; it is classed among the *Śantātīya* hymns (*Kauśika*. IX.4) of the *AV*. The selection of such a hymn is done with the intention of making the study conducive to a comparative estimate of its state of preservation in the different versions.

§2. *The hymn :*

(i) *Reconstruction :*

uta devā avahitaṃ devā ud dharathā punaḥ |
uto mariṣyantaṃ devā daivā kṛṇutha jīvase || 1 ||

---

[1] *AVP*; other abbreviations are *AVŚ* = *Atharvaveda Śaunakīya; RV* = *Ṛgveda; MS* = *Maitrāyaṇīya Saṃhitā.*

[2] For details see Durgamohan Bhattacharyya, ed. *AVP* Vol. I, Calcutta, 1964.

ā tvā gamaṃ śantātibhir atho ariṣṭatātibhiḥ /
dakṣaṃ te bhadram āhārṣaṃ parā suvāmy āmayat // 2 //

dvāv imau vātau vāta ā sindhor ā parāvataḥ /
dakṣaṃ te anya a vātu parānyo vātu yad rapaḥ // 3 //

ā vāta vāhi bheṣajaṃ vi vāta vāhi yad rapaḥ /
tvaṃ hi viśvabheṣajo devānāṃ dūta īyase // 4 //

trāyantām imaṃ devās trāyantāṃ maruto gaṇaiḥ /
trāyantāṃ viśvā bhūtāni yathāyam agado 'sati // 5 //

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī ghṛtenāpoḥ samukṣata /
ghṛtena mucyasvainaso yad ātmakṛtam āritha // 6 //

ayaṃ me hasto bhagavān ayaṃ me bhagavattaraḥ /
ayaṃ me viśvabheṣajo 'yaṃ śivābhimarśanaḥ // 7 //

hastābhyāṃ daśaśākhabhyāṃ jihvā vācaḥ purogavī /
anāmayitnubhyāṃ śambhubhyāṃ tābhyāṃ tvābhi mṛśāmasi // 8 //

āpa id vā u bheṣajīr āpo amīvacātanīḥ /
āpo viśvasya bheṣajīs tās te kṛṇvantu bheṣajam // 9 //

(ii) *MS. variants :*

(The Orissa—*MSS* are indicated as *B, J, M* and M_1; the Kashmir *MS* as *K*, Barret[3] as *KB.*).

VS. 1. a. *M—°davahitaṃ*; b. *K—°ratā*; c. *K. tato manuṣyaṃtaṃ*, d. *K—daivaṣ* (*KB. daivāṣ*) *kṛṇuta.*

2. ab. *J.M.*M_1, *B—gaman santādibhir*; *K—śaṃtātibhi atho, M—'riṣṭatātibhiḥ*, c *J—dakṣante, K—°māriṣam*; *KB—°mābhārṣam*, d. *K—muvāsyānayati*, (*KB—suvāmyanayaṃ te*).

3. c. *K, J, M,* M_1, *B.—dakṣante* ; *K—vatu*; d. *K—vāta. M—vadravaḥ.*

5. b. *K—trāyantāṃ*, d. All *MSS—°dosati.*

6. b. *K—°nāpassamukṣatā*; c. *K—muścasyaīnaso* (*KB muñcasyainaso*); d. *K—yadātyakṛtamāhṛtaḥ.*

7. abc. *J, M—ayamme*; d. *K—joyam*, the portion *bhagavān ayaṃ me* is missing in *K*.

8. b. *K—vātaṣ, KB—vācaṣ*; c. *K—hanāmayatnubhyāṃ*; *K—saṃvubhyāṃ, KB—śaṃbhubhyāṃ*; d. *K—tyā abhimarśāmasi. K—tābhyāṃ* is missing.

9. d. *KB—°stāstvā*; *J—°stāstā > °stāste.* The following part is missing in *K, °rāpoamīvacātanīḥāpoviśvasya.*

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[3] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 37.

§3. Non *AVP*. occurrences:

As already told the hymn occurs as *RV*. X.137 and *AVŚ*. IV.13. The first verse occurs also as *MS*. 4.14.31. In *RV*. the 6th *AVP* verse is missing and the 7th *AVP* verse occurs as *RV*. X.60.12. In *AVŚ* the 6th verse and the 9th verse are missing. The 6th verse is exclusive to the *AVP*; Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance does not record it. The order in *RV*. is 1, 3, 4, 2, 5, 9, 8; in *AVŚ* it is 1, 3, 4, 5, 2, 7, 8.

The variants recorded in the non-A*VP* versions are as follows :

VS. 1. b. *AVŚ*; *RV*: *un nayathā*; c. *AVŚ* and *RV*: *utāgaś cakruṣam*; d. *AVŚ* and *RV*: *devā jīvayathā punaḥ*.

2. cd. *AVŚ*: * *ta ugram ābhāriṣaṃ parā vakṣmaṃ suvāmi te*; *RV*: * *te bhadram ābhārṣam parā vakṣmaṃ suvāmi te.*

3. d. *AVŚ*: *vyanyo yātu vadrapaḥ.*

4. c. *AVŚ*: ...... *viśvabheṣaja.*

5. ab. *RV*: °*miha devās trāyatāṃ marutāṃ gaṇaḥ*; *AVŚ*: **marutāṃ gaṇāḥ*; d. *AVŚ* and *RV*: *yathāyam arapā asat.*

8. c. *AVŚ*. * *hastābhyāṃ.*
cd. *RV*. * *tvā tābhyāṃ tvopa spṛśāmasi.*

§4. *Translation :*

1. Both, ye gods, him that is put down, O gods, you rescue again; and him, O gods, who is dying, being divine ones, you make to live again.[4]
2. I have come to you with (strengths) which spread upon you weal and which endow you with uninjuredness. I have brought for you strength that is wholesome and drive away far (the strength which is) disease-making.
3. These two winds blow—(one) from the river and the other from afar (beyond that). Let the one blow in strength for you; let the other blow away what disease you have.
4. Blow in, O wind, the healing, blow away O wind, what disease there is. For you, the all-healing (wind), go as the messenger to gods.
5. Let the gods rescue him, let the Maruts rescue (him) with their troops; let all beings rescue so that he may remain free from disease.
6. O, Heaven and Earth, (sprinkle) with ghee ! With ghee, O waters, sprinkle ! Be freed from sin by ghee, since you have attained (the fruits of your) own deeds.

---

[4] The fourth quarter may also be translated as 'show (your) divine (power) for (his) life '.

7. This hand of mine has good luck with it, this one of mine is more possessed of good luck; this one of mine is all-healing, this one is of propitious touch.
8. Along with the ten-branched hands, the tongue (works as) the fore-runner of speech. With these two disease-removing and relief-giving hands, I touch you.
9. The waters, indeed, are healers; the waters are removers of disease, the waters are healers of everything, let those do healing for you.

§5. *The style of the hymn and its text-critical significance :*

The characteristic feature of the style of the hymn is the expression of contrasts. In the first verse *uddharathā* 'raise up, rescue' (*RV*, *AVŚ*, *unnayathā*) is opposed to *avahitam* 'him that is put down.' In the first half of the second verse *śantātibhiḥ* 'relief-giving (powers)' is opposed to *ariṣṭatātibhiḥ* '(powers) giving uninjuredness'; here the positive quality of *śam* 'weal' is opposed to the negative quality of *ariṣṭa* 'uninjuredness', both being part and parcel of healing which the hymn aims at. An explicit statement of the two aspects of treatment —the positive aspect of improving health and the negative one of removing the disease— is to be found in the third verse which states that there are two kinds of winds one of which brings in health while the other drives away evil; the fourth verse continues the same theme and invokes wind to bring in healing and to blow away evil.

The recognition of this style will be conducive even to the critical reconstruction of the hymn. For example, *K* reads VS 1 cd as *tato manuṣyaṃ taṃ devā daivaṣ kṛṇuta jīvase*. *Or* has *uto mariṣyantaṃ devā daivā kṛṇuta jīvase* (*RV* and *AVŚ—utāgaś cakrusaṃ devā devā jīvayathā punaḥ*). It is not difficult to see that *K*'s *tato* should be *uto*[5], *kṛṇuta* should be *kṛṇutha* (*cf.*, the present indic. ending in *RV*). Difficulty arises in the case of *manuṣyaṃ taṃ* of *K* and *mariṣyantaṃ* of *Or*. both of which are intelligible. Now, the *Or*. reading *mariṣyantaṃ*, 'him that is dying' when contrasted to *kṛṇutha jīvase*, 'make live again'[6] should conform to the aforesaid style of the hymn; for, then we get the theme of death opposed to that of life in this half of the hymn.

The same consideration leads to similar results in the reconstruction of 2cd :

Or.	*dakṣante bhadram āhārṣaṃ parā suyāmyāmayat.*
K.	*dakṣaṃ te bhadram āriṣaṃ parā muvāsy ānayat.*
RV.	*dakṣaṃ te bhadram ābhārṣam parā yakṣmaṃ suvāmi te.*

---

[5] For the frequent confusion of *u* and *ta* in the *Śāradā* script see S. M. Katre in *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism*, Poona, 1954, p. 57.

[6] Also see note 4 above.

AVŚ. *daksaṃ ta ugram ābhāriṣam parā yakṣmaṃ suvāmi te.*
K has *parāmuvāsyānayat* which Barret emended to *parā suvāmyanayaṃ te* with query marks. Now, *Or.*'s *āmayat* 'disease-making (power)' is well-contrasted to *dakṣaṃ bhadraṃ* 'wholesome power'; the Kashmir reading is far less intelligible.

Even Ṛgvedic and *AVŚ* readings are sometimes far improved by the *AVP* version. The eighth verse is an instance.

AVP. *hastābhyāṃ daśaśākhābhyāṃ jihvā vācaḥ purogavī /*
anāmayitnubhyāṃ śambhubhyāṃ tābhyām tvābhi mṛśāmasi //
AVŚ. * * * * *
anāmayitnubhyāṃ hastābhyāṃ tābhyāṃ tvābhi mṛśāmasi //
RV. * * * * *
anāmayitnubhyāṃ tvā tābhyāṃ tvopa spṛśāmasi //

The first half is the same in the three versions. Here the theme is that the tongue and the hands work together: the hand with its fingers, imagined as the ten branches of the tree of hand, does ritual work while the tongue is active in uttering the mantras. The second half offers variants. In the *AVP* version the two hands are called *anāmayitnu* 'disease-removing' and *śambhu* 'relief-giving'. The negative and the positive sides of treatment are again contrasted here just as they were in the 2nd verse (*ariṣṭatāti* and *śaṃtāti*). In *RV śaṃbhubhyāṃ* is not found; for the rest we have * *tvā tābhyāṃ tvopa* *. The metre is bad and there are two *tvā*'s (including the one in *tvopa*). Lanman (*Sanskrit Reader*, p. 393) rightly regarded the text as corrupt. In *AVŚ* the metrical deficiency is not found, but it repeats *hastābhyāṃ* instead of the word *śambhubhyāṃ* as found in *AVP*. This *hastābhyāṃ* is redundant (so noted by Whitney too); for, the word already occurs in the first half. *AVP*'s *śambhubhyāṃ*, thus, is better than the readings in both *AVŚ* and *RV*; it is also free from metrical deficiency and fits well into the style of the hymn.

§6. *Superiority of the Or. MSS :*

Now, a few words about the superiority of the *Or. MSS* in relation to *K*. This point was well-established by the late Professor Durgamohan Bhattacharyya who first presented the *Or. MSS.* to the world of scholars. The following tabular list will show that the *MS.* variants under discussion confirm the earlier observations of Professor Durgamohan Bhattacharyya.

All the major *MS.* Variants are shown here. Out of the 18 variants, 16 *Or.* readings are to be preferred to the Kashmir-readings, while in two cases (*Or. āhārṣaṃ, K. āriṣaṃ = * āhāriṣaṃ ? cf., AVŚ. ābhāriṣaṃ*; *Or. santādibhir, K. śaṃtātibhi, RV.* and *AVŚ. śaṃtātibhir*) a comparison is necessary. Of the 16 cases where *Or.* gives the correct reading, the *K*—reading has been correctly improved by Barret in 8 cases only. (*uto, vātu, vātu, trāyantāṃ, bhagavān ayaṃ me, anāmayitnubhyāṃ, tābhyāṃ, bheṣajīr āpo amīyacātanīḥ / āpo viśvasya*). These improvements have been made only with the help of the corresponding *RV* and *AVŚ* readings by way of replacing the *K.* readings by those in the *RV* and *AVŚ.*

Of the remaining readings a few comments may be made on *yad ātmakrtam āritha* (6[d]). *K.*'s *yadātvakṛtamāhṛtaḥ* was emended by Barret—*yadātvakṛtam ahṛthāḥ.* (*id* +) *āritha* <√*ṛ*—' to go ' appears also in *AVP.* III. 16.6[c] where also Barret emended it as *udāhṛtam.* The rejection of the Kashmir-reading *tva* (for *tma* in *Or.*), however, may not be final. The *K.* reading is not absurd (*yadā* + *tu* + *akṛtam* + *āritha*), but the *Or.* reading is more appropriate.

	K	*Or*	*AVŚ*	*RV*	*Barret*	*Acceptable reading*
1^{b}	uddharatā	uddharathā	unnayathā	unnayathā	uddharatā	uddharathā
1^{c}	tato	uto	uta(+ ā)	uta(+ ā)	uto	uto
1^{c}	manṣyam taṃ	mariṣyantaṃ	x	x	manuṣyaṃ taṃ	mariṣyantaṃ
1^{d}	daivaṣ	daivā	devā(ḥ)	devā(ḥ)	daivāṣ	daivā ?
1^{d}	kṛṇuta	kṛṇutha	*cf.* jīvayathā	*cf.* jīvayathā	kṛṇuta	kṛṇutha
2^{a}	śantātibhi	santādibhir	śaṃtātibhir	śaṃtātibhir	śaṃtātibhiḥ	śaṃtātibhir
2^{c}	āriṣaṃ	āhārṣaṃ	abhāriṣaṃ	abhārṣaṃ	abhārṣaṃ	ahārṣaṃ (ahāriṣaṃ ?)
2^{d}	muvāsyānayat	suvāmyāmoyat	*cf.*, yakṣmaṃ suvāmi te	as in *AVŚ*	suvāmy anayaṃ te	suvāmy āmayat
3^{c}	vatu	vātu	vātu	vātu	vātu	vātu
3^{d}	vāta	vātu	vātu	vātu	vātu	vātu
5^{b}	trayantāṃ	trāyantāṃ	trāyantāṃ	*cf.*, trāyatāṃ	trāyantāṃ	trāyantāṃ
6^{c}	*muścasyainaso*	mucyasvainaso	x	x	muñcasvainaso	mucyasvainaso
6^{d}	yadātvakṛtam āhṛtaḥ	yadātmakṛtamāritha	x	x	yadātvakṛtam ahṛthāḥ	yadātmakṛtam āritha
7^{b}	lacuna	bhagavān ayaṃ me	as in *Or.*	as in *Or.*	as in *Or.*	as in *Or.*
8^{b}	vātaṣ	vācaḥ	vācaḥ	vācaḥ	vācaṣ	vācaḥ
8^{c}	hanāmayatnubhyāṃ	anāmayitnubhyāṃ	as in *Or.*	as in *Or.*	as in *Or.*	as in *Or.*
8^{d}	lacuna	tābhyāṃ	tābhyāṃ	*cf.*, tvā tābhyaṃ tvopa	tābhyāṃ	tābhyāṃ
9^{abc}	lacuna	bheṣajīr āpo amīvacataniḥ āpo viśvasya	x	as in *Or.*	as in *Or.*	as in *Or.*

SĀYAṆABHĀṢYA ON CHĀNDOGYOPANIṢAD*

By

GAUTAM PATEL, Ahmedabad

In the year 1971 I went to Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4, with the help of travel grant of U. G. C. to consult some MSS of Vallabha-deva on *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa. There on casual inqniry I learnt that a MS of *Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya* on the famous *Chāndogya-upaniṣad* is preserved there. After reaching Ahmedabad I launched a research project for the said commentary and learnt on inquiry from the Head of the Sanskrit Department, University of Madras, that another copy of the same work is also lying with Oriental Research Institute, Mysore. I collected transcribed copies of the work in question and devoted good deal of time to prepare a critical edition of this unpublished work. The work is still in progress.

Description of the MS. No. 1 :

Place of Deposit : Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4.
Title of the work : *Chāndogyopaniṣad Dīpikā.*
Author : Sāyaṇācārya
No. : 21 of Viśrama (i)
New No. : 3 section
Extent foll. : 223, folio 199 is blank.
Size : $12\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Description : MS contains approximately seven lines in a folio. It is written in *tripāṭha* character. Writings are clear, legible, big in the beginning and small in size after folio No. 92. There are red lines on both the sides from fol. 148 to 223. It is written in *Devanāgarī* Script and it is complete.

Description of the MS No. 2 :

Place of Deposit : Oriental Research Institute, Mysore.
Title : *Chāndogyopaniṣad-bhāṣya.*
Author : *Sāyaṇa Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya.*
No. : Sp 2675.
Material : Palmleaf.
Script : *Nandināgarī.*
Subject : *Advaita-Vedānta.*
Extent : Vth and VIth *Adhyāyas.*
Leaves : 1-142 leaves.

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* This paper was read at the XXVIII Session of All India Oriental Conference at Dharwar. The work of preparing a critical edition is under progress with the financial help of U. G. C.

These two figures belong to Article :

A Rare Early Sculpture from Mārkaṇḍa, Dist. Chanda (Maharashtra) —by D. Hanumantharao, pp. 279-282.

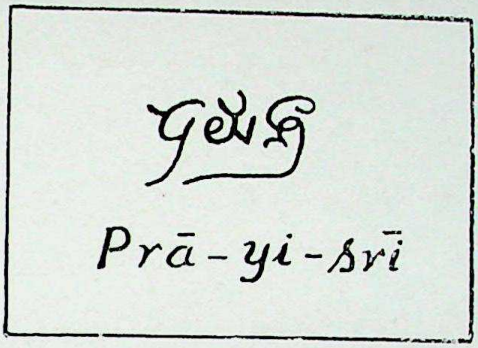


Fig. 1
A Label Inscription on the Sculptured Panel

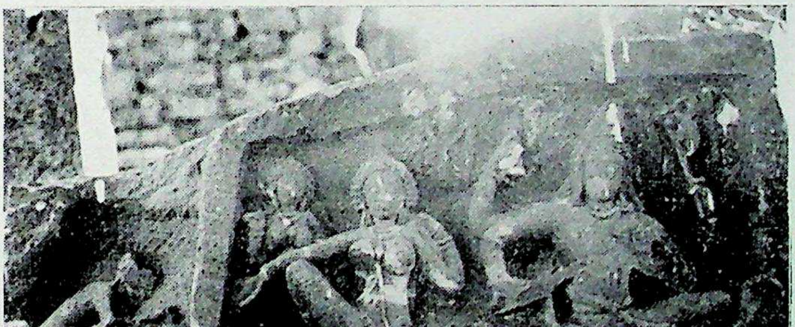
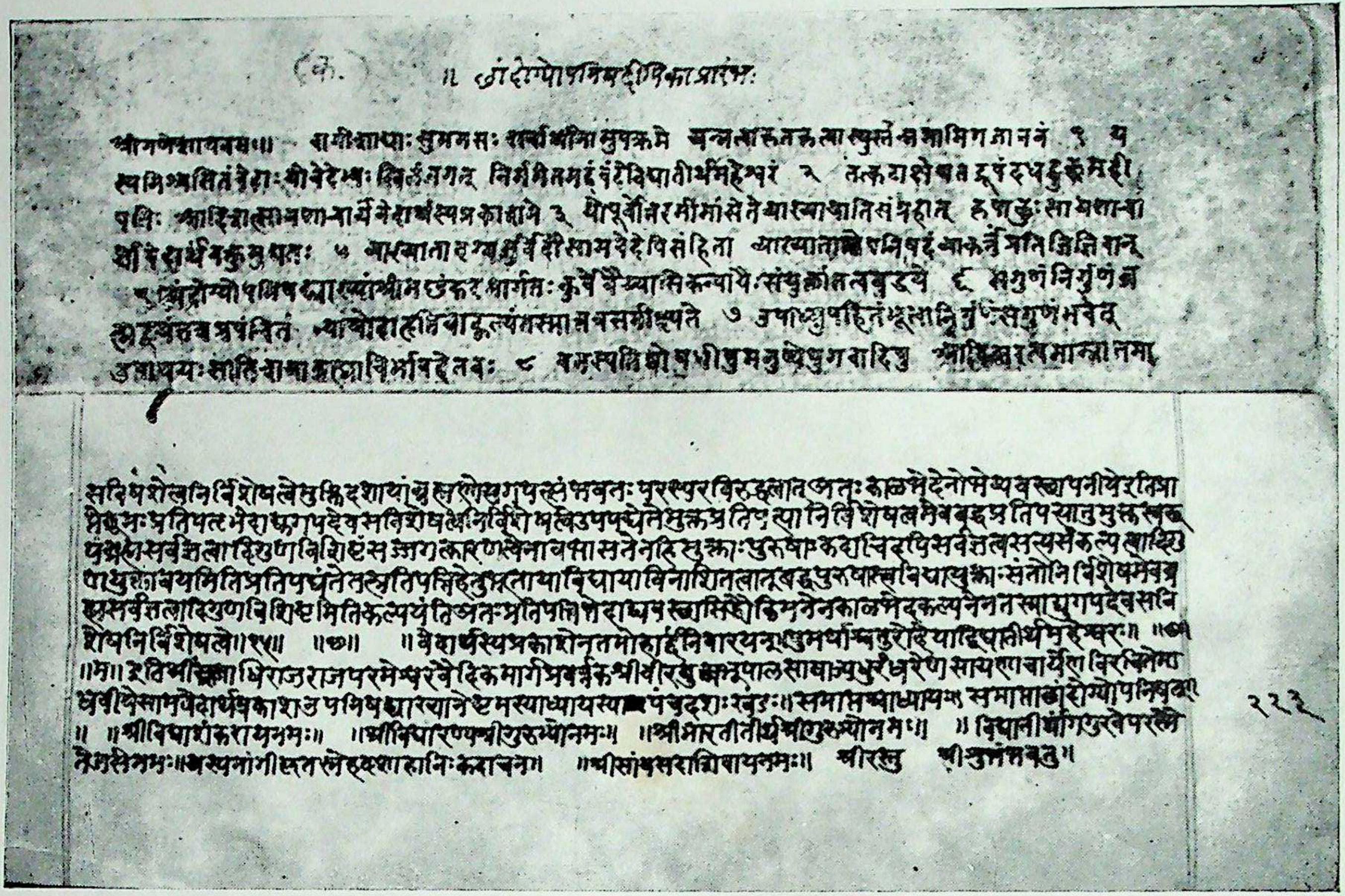


Fig. 2
The Sculpture of Somaskandamūrti-Śiva from Mārkaṇḍa



MSS of Sāyanabhāṣya on Chāndogyopaniṣad

This is an incomplete MS gives the text of the Vth and VIth *Adhyāyas* only.

The MS No. 1 starts in the manner of all other available *Sāyaṇa-bhāṣyas*:

वागीशाद्याः सुमनसः सर्वार्थानामुपक्रमे ।
यन्नत्वा कृतकृत्याः स्युस्तन्नमामि गजाननम् ॥ १ ॥
यस्य निश्वसितं वेदाः यो वेदेभ्योऽखिलं जगत् ।
निर्ममे तमहं वन्दे विद्यातीर्थमहेश्वरम् ॥ २ ॥

तत्कटाक्षेण तद्रूपं दधद्बुक्कमहीपतिः ।
वादिशत्सायणाचार्यं वेदार्थस्य प्रकाशने ॥ ३ ॥

The colophone reads—

इति श्रीराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरवैदिकमार्गप्रवर्तक श्रीवीरबुक्कभूपालसाम्राज्यधुरंधरेण सायणाचार्येण विरचिते माधवीये सामवेदार्थप्रकाशन उपनिषद्व्याख्यानेऽष्टमध्यायस्य पञ्चदशः खण्डः । समाप्तश्चाध्यायः । समाप्ता छान्दोग्योपनिषत् ॥ श्रीविद्याशङ्कराय नमः । श्रीविद्यारण्यश्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः । श्रीभारतीतीर्थगुरुभ्यो नमः । विद्यातीर्थाङ्गगुरवे परस्मै तेजसे नमः। यस्य नाङ्गीकतस्नेहदशाहानिः कदाचन ॥ श्रीसांबसदाशिवाय नमः ॥ श्रीरस्तु । श्रीशुभं भवतु ॥ fol. 223.

This shows a marked resemblance to all other *Sāyaṇabhāṣyas*. It is specifically stated that this commentary on *Chāndogyopaniṣad* was written after the completion of his commentaries on *Ṛgveda*, *Yajurvcda* and *Sāmaveda*. See—

व्याख्याताव्रग्यजुर्वेदौ सामवेदेऽपि संहिता ।
व्याख्याताऽथोपनिषदं व्याकर्तुं प्रतिजज्ञिवान् ॥ ५ ॥

It is an established fact that Sāyaṇa was the follower of Śaṅkarācārya, the profounder of *Kevalādvaita* philosophy. This Sāyaṇa, in one of his introductory stanzas, takes a vow to interpret this *Upaniṣad* by following the path of Śaṅkarācārya and with the help of *Vaiyāsika-Nyāyamālā* of Bhāratītīrtha muni.[1]

छान्दोग्योपनिषद्व्याख्यां श्रीमच्छंकरमार्गतः ।
कुर्वे वैयासिकन्यायैः संयुक्तां तत्त्वबुद्धये ॥ ६ ॥

It is a matter of great surprise that this *Vaiyāsika-nyāya-mālā* is quoted in this work for not less than hundred times. This Sāyaṇa introduces himself at one place as *Śaṅkara-prasādopa-jīvin*.[2] He has referred to his another commentary on *Aitareya* as—

आविस्तरमाम्नातमात्मनो ह्यैतरेयके ॥ ६ ॥

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[1] आपटे, विनायक गणेश—वैयासिकन्यायमाला—श्रीभारतीतीर्थमुनिप्रणीता, पूना, १९२५

[2] यत्राष्टाध्यायीपाठस्य श्रीमच्छंकरभगवतत्पूज्यपादैरुदाहृतत्वात् तत्प्रसादोपजीविभिरस्माभिरपि स एव पाठः प्राधान्येन व्याख्यासते ।

The important works which the commentator has quoted and which have been referred to are *Ṛgveda*, *Sāmaveda*, *Yajurveda*, *Taittirīya-Saṁhita*, *Tāṇḍya-Śākhā* of *Atharvaveda*, *Kauṣitakī-brāhmaṇa*, *Aitareya-āraṇyaka*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, *Nirukta*, *Nighaṇṭu*, *Manusmṛti*, *Gītā* etc. *Sāṅkhyas*, *Vaiśeṣikas*, *Naiyāyikas*, *Paurāṇikas*, *Mahā-vaināśikas* etc. are either mentioned or refuted at length following the logical pattern of Śaṅkarācārya. Limitations of space forbid giving here all the passages which quote the above-mentioned works. Nevertheless I would refer to one example by way of illustration.

तद्धैक आहुरसदेवेदमग्र आसीदेकमेवाद्वितीयं तस्मादसतः सज्जायतेति ।

Commenting on this Sāyaṇa says—

निर्णयलक्षणत्वात् परपक्षनिरासमन्तरेण वस्तुनिश्चयाभावात् महावैनाशिकपक्षं दूषयितुमुपस्थापयति तद्धैकेति । तत्र प्रागुत्पत्तेर्वस्तुनिरूपण एके महावैनाशिका वस्तु निरूपयतः आहुः–उत्पत्तेः प्रागिदं जगदसदेवासन्—etc.

folio 150-A.

However the question arises whether *Mahāvaināśikas* existed before the origin of *Chāndogyopaniṣad* or is it an anachronism which is so common among our ancient commentators ?

This Sāyaṇa exhibits almost the same style of other *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* in quoting *Nirukta* etc. e.g.

वैश्वानरं विश्वान्नन्तरात् पुण्यपापानुरूपां गतिं नयतीति वैश्वानरः । यद्वा विश्वैर्नरैः प्रत्यगात्मतया प्रविभज्यमानायत इति । यद्वा विश्वनर एव वैश्वानरः सर्वात्मकत्वात् । तथा च यास्कः—वैश्वानरः सर्वात्मकत्वात् । तथा च यास्कः—वैश्वानरः कस्मात्, विश्वान्नरान् यन्ति विश्वे येनं नरा यन्तीति वाऽपि वा विश्वानर एव स्यादिति ।[3]

folio 143-A.

The simpie and forceful philosophical style of the author is really appealing in this *Bhāṣya*. e.g.

अस्य देहस्य जरया वयोहान्या एतद्यथोक्तमन्तराकाशाख्यं ब्रह्म न जीर्यति, देहवान्न विक्रियत इत्यर्थः । तथास्य देहस्य वधेन शस्त्रादिघातेनैतनन्तराकाशाख्यं ब्रह्म न हन्यते । यथा भौतिकमाकाशं घटशरावादिदोषैर्न सम्बध्यते तथा ततोऽपि सूक्ष्मतरं निर्गुणं ब्रह्म देहेन्द्रियादिदोषैर्न सम्बध्यत इत्यर्थः ॥

His numerous etymologies and their critical examination could be the subject of a separate research paper. Here we may take an example: He has tried to explain the word *Śudra* in the following manner.

नन्वयं जानश्रुति राजा कस्मिन्…………
…………शुद्र इति सम्बोधनं कृतम् ।

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[3] See—*Nirukta* VII–21.

कि च विद्याग्रहणाय शूद्रस्य ब्राह्मणसमीपोपगमनमयुक्तं विद्यायामनधिकारादिति चेत् मैवम्—हंस वचनश्रवणात् जानुश्रुतिमाजगाम । तेनासौ राजा शुचा श्रुत्वा द्रवति गच्छतीति शुद्रः । राज्ञोऽभिप्रायमहं जान इत्यर्षिः स्वीयं सर्वज्ञत्वं प्रकटयितुं हे शूद्र इति ब्रवीति । अपरे त्वेवमाहुः विद्याग्रहणायापर्याप्तं धनमनेनाहृतमिति कोपेन ऋषिः शूद्रेत्युक्तवान् ।

—folio 98-A.

Śudra is one who runs to learn as soon as he comes to know about the arrival of a sage *Raikva*, the knower of the *Brahman*. It seems he has basically changed the meaning of the word *Śudra*. The explanation of *Apare* noted by him does not sound appropriate in the context, because it reflects greediness on the part of the sage as he calls him *Śudra* only because he has brought less fees to study. Incidentally it also sheds light on the contemporary society of the commentator. e.g.

घृतादि भक्षणेन विशता सती वाग् भाषणसमर्था भवति ।

Some of his thoughts may sound scientific, to some enthusiastic scholars such as—

सवितुरुदयो नामस्तत्तत्पुरीनिवासिनां
प्राणिनां चक्षुर्गोचरता तदभावश्चास्तमयः ।
न परमार्थत उदयास्तमयौ सवितुर्विधेते ।

etc. folio 66-B.

We cannot neglect the interpretation of the word *Trayī* which sheds enough light to dispel the darkness of our ignorance in understanding the real connotation of this term, which is often misused so as to violate even the Indian tradition. Numerous modern Indian students of Sanskrit and Vedic literature, in the wake of the foreign scholars have felt that the word *Trayī* refers to the three *Vedas* only and hence the *Atharvaveda* is a later creation. But this worthy commentator says –

त्रयीशब्दश्च ऋग्यजुःसामाख्येषु मन्त्रेषु प्रयुज्यते ।

तथा चाथर्वणिका अप्यामनन्ति—'मन्त्रेषु कवयो यान्यपश्यन्' (मुण्डक. १-२-१) इति । तस्मान्मन्त्रेषु कर्मणामेकीभावो युक्तः ।

The traditional definition of the word *Veda* is given as *Mantrabrāhmaṇāyorvedanāmadheyaṃ* which includes *Mantra*. The definition of three types of *mantras* are given in the *Mīmāṁsāsūtras* of Jaimini.

(१) ऋग् यत्रार्थवशेन पादव्यवस्था[4] (पादेन अर्थेन च उपेता वृत्तबद्धाः मन्त्राः ऋचः)
(२) गीतिषु सामः[5] (३) शेषे यजुः शब्दः ।[6]

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[4] जै. सू. २-०-३५.

[5] जै. सू. २-१-३६.

[6] जै. सू. २-१-३७,

This does not mean that the tradition has totally neglected *Atharvaveda* from the very beginning. The fact is that the word *trayī* does not mean three *Vedas* but as noted by this worthy commentator, the three types of *mantras* which are found in all the four *Vedas*. This fact could be corroborated by other references in the ancient Indian literature and tradition.[7] *Ṣaḍ-guruśiṣya* says—

विनियोक्तव्यरूपश्च त्रिविधः सम्प्रदर्श्यते ।
ऋग्यजुःसामरूपेण मन्त्रो वेदचतुष्टये ॥
अहेर्बुध्नीय मन्त्रं मे गोपायेत्यभिधीयते ।
ऋक्पादबद्धा गीतन्तु साम गद्यं यजुर्मन्त्रः ।
चतुर्ष्वपि वेदेषु त्रिधैव विनियुज्यते ॥

—षडगुरुशिष्यकृता वृत्तिः कात्यायनकृतसर्वानुक्रमणीभूमिका—संपा. ए. ए. मॅकडोनेल.

Morover *Mahābhārata* is called the fifth *Veda*[8] and the drama is designated as the fifth *Veda*.[9] We have never come across any reference where the words like *Caturtho Vedaḥ* are used to glorify anything. This proves beyond doubt that the word *trayī* refers to the three types of *mantras* and not to the three *Vedas*. A close parallel can be found in the division of *kāvya* as *Gadya*, *Padya* and *Campū* which by no means excludes *Rūpakas*.

The genuine Brahmanic scholarship, deep and extensive study of the sacred lore, command of the Sanskrit language, profound understanding of various branches of ancient Indian philosophies in general and that of Śaṅkara in particular—all these go to show that this Sāyaṇa and the commentator of the *Vedas* is the same person. Or as is aecepted by almost all the scholars the famous Sāyaṇa was not an individual person but a collection entity i.e. to say a whole team of scholars working together. Hence it is not unlikely that this Sāyaṇa, the commentator of *Chāndogyopaniṣad* might have been only a member of that worthy team of Vedic commentators—known today under a single name cf Sāyaṇa.

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[7] चौबे, व्रजबिहारी—वैदिक वाङ्मय—एक अनुशीलन, प्रथम भाग, भूमिकाखण्ड, पृ. २५-२६.

[8] भारतं पञ्चमो वेदः ।

[9] नाटकं पञ्चमो वेदः ।

CONCEPT OF PURUṢA IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

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The idea of *Puruṣa* is most dominant aspect of Indian Philosophy. It is rooted in the earliest Indian Literature—the *Ṛgveda* and flourished in almost all the prominent systems of philosophical thought in India. Though, here, the attempt is to present the philosophical concept of *Puruṣa* in six systems of Indian Philosophy, nevertheless, it will not be out of place to find out various important usages and meanings of *Puruṣa* available in the *Saṁhitās* and *Upaniṣads*, the direct and basic background of Indian Philosophy.

In the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgveda*, *Puruṣa* has been said as the creator of the whole universe and all pervading[1] like the Supreme Reality of the *Advaita Vedānta*. In the *Yajurveda*, the word occurs in the same sense of creator and an all-pervading being.[2] So far as the Upaniṣadic thought is concerned, the word *Puruṣa* carries different meanings there. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, the *Puruṣa* has been described as witness and unattached[3] and in the *Kaṭha*, as the Supreme Reality :

महतः परमव्यक्तमव्यक्तात् पुरुषः परः ।
पुरुषान्न परं किंचित् सा काष्ठा सा परागतिः ॥

Kaṭha. 3.11.

The *Muṇḍaka* presents two types of *Puruṣa*—the witness and the enjoyer or experiencer and they have been depicted there, in the form of two birds, the *Dvā Suparṇā*.[4] In the *Mahābhārata*, the basic source of the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Puruṣa* has been taken as the creating base of all the *puruṣa*s :

बहूनां पुरुषाणां स यथैका योनिरुच्यते ।

Mahābhārata Śānti Parva, 350/26.

It would be clear that all the aforesaid ideas regarding *Puruṣa* create a sound background for the concept of *Puruṣa* in the *Bhagavadgītā*. Now, we come to the *Bhagavadgītā*.

Before we decide the final concept of *Puruṣa* in the *Bhagavadgītā*, we are bound to find various different meanings of the word in the text. In the

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[1] सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः, पुरुष एवेदं सर्वं यद्भूतं यच्च भाव्यम् । *Ṛgveda*, 10–90–1, 2.

[2] एतावानस्य महिमातो ज्यायांश्च पूरुषः ॥ *Yajurveda*, 31.3, *Ṛgveda*, 10.90.3.

[3] असङ्गो ह्ययं पुरुष इत्येवमेवैतत् । *Bṛ*. 4–3–15.

[4] *Muṇḍaka* 3–1,

Bhagavadgītā, *Puruṣa* has been referred to twenty times,[5] and there mainly the following positions of *Puruṣa* may be ascertained:

(i) *Puruṣa* as man.
(ii) *Puruṣa* as *Jīva*.
(iii) *Puruṣa* as witness and approver.
(iv) *Puruṣa* as *Kṣara* and *Akṣara*.
(v) *Puruṣa* as *Viśvarūpa*.
(vi) *Puruṣa* as *Puruṣottama*.
(vii) *Puruṣa* as Ultimate Reality.

Puruṣa as a man:

Though the derivative meaning of the word *Puruṣa*[6] is exclusively *Jīvātman* which exists in man and woman both, still it is used in society only for man and not for woman. Therein, the reason may be the predominance of male in society. The author of the *Bhagavadgītā* has also used the word *Puruṣa* for an ordinary male. In the second chapter,[7] when Lord Kṛṣṇa tells Arjuna that even though a man (*Puruṣa*) may ever strive for perfection and be ever so discerning, his impetuous senses will carry off his mind by force, the *Puruṣa* means a man and nothing specific.

Puruṣa as a Jīva:

The author of the *Bhagavadgītā* says that *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* are beginningless and the latter is the cause of enjoyment of pleasure and pain.[8] So the *Puruṣa* there, means neither an ordinary man and nor the Supreme *Puruṣa* but the *Jīva*. It has been again told that the soul in nature enjoys the modes born of nature and its attachment to the modes is the cause of its births in good and evil wombs.[9] This again justifies the Jīva-hood of *Puruṣa*.

Puruṣa as witness and approver:

The author of the *Bhagavadgītā* describes the *Puruṣa* as witness of the deeds of the *Jīva*. The witness means a seer,[10] a spectator or an onlooker. Obviously, this *Puruṣa* is not the enjoyer *Jīva*. The idea of witness and enjoyer of the *Bhagavadgītā* is totally parallel to the " *Dvā Suparṇā* " of the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*. But, when *Puruṣa* has been said as *Anumantā* (approver), it suits neither for the witness nor for the enjoyer, *Jīva*. It seems that the position of *Puruṣa* as *Anumantā*, disturbs his position as witness. To my mind, it appears that the *Puruṣa* when witnesses the deeds of *Jīva* is not *Anumantā* or approver. To a certain extent *Puruṣa* or *Paramātman* never approves the good or bad actions of the *Jīva*. He merely witnesses these actions. So, He is not an approver. The approver *Puruṣa*, even witnessing the good and bad deeds of the *Jīva*, never disturbs the *Jīva*, according to his position. He neither checks the *Jīva* from doing the deeds nor approves his affairs. This means that the witness *Puruṣa* keeps silence regarding the deeds of the *Jīva*. This silence of *Sākṣī Puruṣa* makes him an approver, so far as I think—मौनं स्वीकृतिलक्षणम् ।

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[5] *Bhagavadgītā*, 2/60, 15; 8/8, 10; 10/12; 13/19, 23; 15/4; 2/21; 3/4; 8/4, 22; 11/18, 38; 13/20, 21, 22; 15/17; 17/3, 9/3.

[6] पुरि शेते, पुरुषः

[7] *Bhagavadgītā*, 2/60.

[8] *Ibid.* 13/20.

[9] *Bhagavadgītā*, 13/21.

[10] उपद्रष्टाऽनुमन्ता च भर्ता भोक्ता महेश्वरः *Ibid*, 13/22.

Puruṣa as Kṣara and Akṣara :

The *Kṣara* and *Akṣara* positions of *Puruṣa*, in the *Bhagavadgītā*, clearly indicate that the manifested world is not different from the Supreme Reality. According to the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Kṣara* is perishable and changing and the *Akṣara* is imperishable and immutable.[11] Here, the interpreter, Śaṅkara takes *Kūṭastha* for the *Māyā Śakti* of *Īśvara*.[12] This, he does, perhaps to keep the position of *Puruṣottama* higher than *Kṣara* and *Akṣara* both as it has been mentioned in the following verse of the *Gītā* which occurs just after the verse in which the *Kṣara* and *Akṣara* are explained :

उत्तमः पुरुषस्त्वन्यः परमात्मेत्युदाहृतः ।
यो लोकत्रयमाविश्य बिभर्त्यव्यय ईश्वरः ॥ *Bg*. 15/17.

Again, यस्मात् क्षरमतीतोऽहमक्षरादपि चोत्तमः । *Bg*. 15/18.

To me, it appears that the immutable *Akṣara* is eternal and the perishable *Kṣara* is the manifested form of the *Akṣara*. In other words, we can say that the *Kṣara* is the objective aspect of the *Māyā Śakti* of *Paramātman* and the *Akṣara* is essential nature. This way, the supremacy of *Paramātman* is unquestioned. From the standpoint of Permanent Reality, the *Akṣara* and *Paramātman* are not different, they are the same in their essential nature. But in this phenomenal world the *Paramātman* is being taken as *Akṣara* due to the adjunct *Māyā*. In this context, the word '*Loke*'[13] is much significant, because it clearly gives the impression that *Akṣara* exists in this world as *Akṣara*. On the other hand, the *Paramātman* is beyond this appearance and without adjunct. Therefore the *Paramātman* is supreme like the *Brahman* of the *Advaita Vedānta*.

Puruṣa as Viśvarūpa:

In *Viśvarūpa-darśana*, the eleventh chapter of the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Puruṣa-tattva* has been presented in the form of the *Viśvarūpa*. The *Viśvarūpa* means the *Puruṣa* with its manifestation. As the author of the *Bhagavadgītā* has presented, the different forms of the manifestation are not distinct from the *Paramātman.*[14] The origin of the idea of *Viśvarūpa* may easily be discovered in the *Ṛgveda* where the *Puruṣa* has been described with His different forms[15] and Indra takes many forms with the help of His *Māyā Śaktī.*[16] The concept of *Vivarta* of the later *Advaita* also is very much parallel to the idea of *Viśvarūpa.* According to the theory of *Vivarta*, the manifestation is not different from its cause—*Brahman* and therefore, there is non-duality in the cause and effect.[17] So the *Viśvarūpa* of the *Bhagavadgītā* symbolizes the non-duality of the *Paramātman* and the worldly manifestation.

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[11] द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके क्षरश्चाक्षर एव च ।
क्षरः सर्वाणि भूतानि कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते ॥ *Bg*. 15/16.

[12] *S. B. Bhagavadgītā*, 15/16.

[13] द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके *Bg*. 15/16.

Puruṣa as Puruṣottama:

Many eastern and western scholars have seen some vagueness in the expression of *Puruṣottama* of the *Bhagavadgītā.* The confusion arises due to the use of the word—*Puruṣottama* for personal God and impersonal—*Paramātman* both. The author of the *Bhagavadgītā* has five times referred to the word *Puruṣottama* in the text and there, at three places,[18] it is for the Lord Kṛṣṇa, where the Lord is addressed by Arjuna. The addressed *Puruṣottama* can be only the personal God or the qualified *Brahman* and not the unqualified *Brahman* or the Absolute Reality. At the remaining two places, the *Puruṣottama* means the Ultimate Truth or *Paramātman*:

अतोऽस्मि लोके वेदे च प्रथितः पुरुषोत्तमः । *Bg.* 15.18.
यो मामेवमसंमूढो जानाति पुरुषोत्तमम् । *Bg.* 15.19.

It is significant to note that the above quoted verses occur in the *Puruṣottamayogādhyāya*, the fifteenth chapter of the *Gīta* and in them, the Lord *Kṛṣṇa* is teaching the meaning of *Puruṣottama.* Therefore, the doctrinal meaning of *Puruṣottama*, the Ultimate Reality, rests in these two verses.

So far as I understand, the aforesaid expressions regarding the *Puruṣottama* are without any contradiction, because the *Puruṣottama* as personal God is meant for the worshipper or the devotee and the *Puruṣottama* as the Ultimate Reality is mentioned from the view point of the enquirer into the Absolute Truth. That is why the two *Saguṇa* and *Nirguṇa Brahmans* have been accepted in the *Upaniṣads* and the *Advaita Vedānta* Śaṅkara.

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[14] इहैकस्थं जगत् कृत्स्नं पश्याद्य सचराचरम् ।
मम देहे गुडाकेश यच्चान्यद् द्रष्टुमिच्छसि ॥ *Ibid*, 11/9.

[15] *Ṛgveda*, 10/90/1–5.

[16] इन्द्रो मायाभिः पुरुरूप ईयते । *Ibid*, 6/47/18.

[17] *B.S.S.B.* 2/1/14.

[18] किं तद्ब्रह्म किमध्यात्मं किं कर्म पुरुषोत्तम । *Bg.* 8–1.
स्वयमेवात्मनात्मानं वेत्थ त्वं पुरुषोत्तम । *Bg.* 10–15.
द्रष्टुमिच्छामि ते रूपमैश्वरं पुरुषोत्तम । *Bg.* 11–3,

Puruṣa as Ultimate Reality :

As the *Bhagavadgītā* represents, the Supreme or the Ultimate Reality is *Para Puruṣa* and that is *Brahman*, the Absolute and Immortal.[19] The author of the *Bhagavadgītā* has, several times, mentioned the *Para Puruṣa* or the Supreme *Puruṣa* for Ultimate Reality.[20] Finally, this Supreme *Puruṣa* is to be attained by a real enquirer of truth. When one knows the *Para Puruṣa* or Supreme *Puruṣa*, there is nothing to be known for him.[21] So, this final concept of *Puruṣa* is based on the Advaitic background of the *Upaniṣads*.

Intrinsically, the *Paramātman* or the *Para Puruṣa* of the *Bhagavadgītā* is like the Absolute Brahman of the *Advaita Vedānta* and the enjoyer *Puruṣa* holds the position of *Jīva* of the same doctrine. The idea of the *Gītā* that the world is created by the *Paramātman* by His *Māyā Śakti* is again similar to the Advaitic conception of creation. Therefore, the *Bhagavadgītā* finally teaches the non-dual reality of *Paramātman*, though its stress has been on the personal God for the convenience of the devotee or enquirer into truth. To state that the background of the *Gītā* is Advaitic is to differ from Prof. Garbe, who says that “the teachings of *Sāṁkhya Yoga* constitute almost entirely the foundation of the philosophical observations of the *Bhagavadgītā* ”.[22] The following considerations do not suit to the statement of Prof. Garbe :

(i) There was no *Sāṁkhya* system as such prior to the *Bhagavadgītā.*

(ii) *Īśvara* finds a prominent place in the *Bhagavadgītā*, but the *Nirīśvara Sāṁkhya* has totally avoided the existence of *Īśvara*. Even the *Seśvar Sāṁkhya* is somewhat different from the *Bhagavadgītā*.

(iii) The *Bhagavadgītā* takes the *Prakṛti* as *Māyā Śakti* of *Paramātman*, but the *Sāṁkhya* system maintains that the *Prakṛti* is a separate entity and not the power at all.

(iv) The *Puruṣabahutvavāda* theory of the *Sāṁkhya* also is not acceptable to the author of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

(v) The Blissful nature of the *Puruṣa* of the *Gītā* also is not available in the *Puruṣa* of *Sāṁkhya*, in which merely the awareness ‘*jñatva*’ exists.

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[19] परं ब्रह्म परं धाम पवित्रं परमं भवान् ।
पुरुषं शाश्वतं दिव्यमादिदेवमजं विभुम् ॥ *Bhagavadgitā*, 10/12.

[20] *Ibid*, 8/10, 8/22, 13/22,

[21] *Ibid*, 15/19, स सर्वविद् भजति मां सर्वभावेन भारत ।

[22] Dr. Radhakrishnan, S., *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 1, p. 527.

Among the six systems, the *Naiyāyikas* and the *Vaiśeṣikas* accept *Puruṣa* as *Sarvaguṇasampanna.* Udayana, in his *Nyāyakusumāñjali* describes the *Puruṣa* or *Iśvara* as Knower and Creator and he says:

वाक्यात् संख्याविशेषाच्च साध्यो विश्वविदव्ययः ।[23]

As regards the *Sāṁkhya* system, it is mainly based on the concept of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti.* The main *Puruṣa* of the *Sāṁkhya* is one[24] and that is 'ज्ञ', but the unliberated *Puruṣas* are many *Puruṣabahutvam Siddhaṁ.*[25] It is the unliberated *Puruṣa* of *Sāṁkhya* which is the subject of pleasure and pain on account of its association with *Prakṛti.* The liberated *Puruṣa* of *Sāṁkhya* is never associated with or attached to *Prakṛti* and thus it exists separately at the state of *Mukti.* The *Puruṣa* of the *yoga* system is very much parallel to the concept of *Puruṣa* of the *Sāṁkhya.* According to both the systems, the *Puruṣa* is experiencer and *cetana.* And when the reflections of the *Puruṣa* in *Citta* are seen, the *Cittavṛttis* are created in the form of *Saṁskāra-vṛtticakra.* According to this *Saṁskāra-vṛtticakra,* the impressions or *Saṁskāras* create *Vṛttis* and the *Vṛttis* are the creations of the *Saṁskāras.* The *Vṛttis* of *Buddhi* reflect in *Puruṣa,* in the form of objects and that is called *Puruṣavṛtti* (*Y. V.* 1-4). In *Yoga,* the liberated *Puruṣa* has been described as *Kevali Puruṣa* while in *Sāṁkhya,* it is simply *Puruṣa.* The *Yoga* philosophy propounds a difference between the liberated *Puruṣa* and the *Puruṣa-viśeṣa Iśvara,* while in *Sāṁkhya,* there is no such difference. The *Jña Puruṣa* of *Sāṁkhya* is similar to the *Puruṣa-viśeṣa* of *Yoga,* but the main difference between the two is that the *Puruṣa* of the *Yoga* is *Sarvajña, Sarvaiśvaryasaṁpanna* and *Sarvakartā.* Thus, with this managerial power, He does all and inspires people for the achievement of the supreme stage, while the *Puruṣa* of *Sāṁkhya* is like *Kartṛ* and *Udāsina.* So far as the *Mīmāṅsakas* are concerned, they, in general, do not accept the existence of *Puruṣa* in the form of *Iśvara.* But, some later *Mīmāṅsakas* like Prabhākar accept the importance of *Iśvara,* somehow or the other. In the system of *Mīmāṅsā* there are two types of *Puruṣa*—the *Baddha-puruṣa* and the *Mukta-puruṣa.* The unliberated *Puruṣa* is attached to the worldly objects, while the liberated is completely unattached.[26] To me, the reason of not accepting the *Iśvara* seems that the *Mīmāṅsakas* had a difficulty to fit in *Iśvara* in their system and that was perhaps for this very reason that the pioneer *Mīmānsaka* admired the enquirer into *Iśvara* to approach the Vedāntic system; as he says:

दृढत्वमेतद् विषयश्च बोधः प्रयाति वेदान्तनिषेवणेन । श्लोकवार्तिक, आत्मवाद, १४८.

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[23] *Nyāyakusumāñjali.* 5.1.

[24] तथा च पुमान् *S.K.* 11.

[25] *S.K.* 18.

[26] तस्मात् निःसम्बन्धो निरानन्दश्च मोक्षः (शास्त्रदीपिका Pp. 125–30)

Truely speaking, this scholarly spirit of the *Mīmāṅsaka*s is to be appreciated that they never criticised *Īśvara*, when they had no concern with him.

As regards *Vedāntin*, the most appropriate interpretor of the *śruti*, he accepts *Puruṣa*[27] as *Paramātman* and Creator of all like the *Puruṣa* of the *Ṛgveda*. Like the *Puruṣa* of *Sāṁkhya*, he takes the help of his *Māyā Śakti* which has also been described as :

प्रकृतिः ईश्वरस्य मायाशक्तिः प्रकृतिः । (*Śvet*. 1.4.3).

but his *Prakṛti* or *Māyā* is different from the *Prakṛti* of *Sāṁkhya*, in the respect that the *Māyā* or *Prakṛti* of *Vedānta* is illusory while the *Prakṛti* of *Sāṁkhya* is real. Again, the main difference between the two *Puruṣas* is that the *Sāṁkhya* does not accept the *Puruṣa* to be of the nature of pure, intelligence and bliss, like the *Vedāntin*. In *Vedānta*, the original nature of the existent (*Sat*) *Puruṣa* is consciousness (*Cit*) and Bliss (*Ānanda*). Furthermore, the *Vedāntin* does not consider the *Jīva* as permanently real but, according to him, the existence of the *Jīva* is based on adjunct. But, the follower of *Sāṁkhya* takes them as real and many. Thus, the *Puruṣabahutvavāda* of *Sāṁkhya* is not acceptable to the *Vedāntin*, who believes in the *Ekātmavāda* theory of the *Advaita*. Though *Māyā* is the *Śakti* of *Puruṣa* or the *Īśvara* of *Vedānta*, *Īśvara* is never affected by the illusory character of *Māyā*. This way, the advocates of *Advaita* like Śaṅkarācārya, propound the concept that the *Puruṣa Tattva* is Supreme Being and its attainment is final goal of human life.

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[27] उत्तम उत्कृष्टतमः पुरुषः तु अन्यः अन्यविलक्षण आत्मा परमात्मा । *S.B.B.G*. 15–17.

THE REASON FOR THE BREAKING OF ŚIVA'S BOW

By

J. PRABHAKARA SASTRY, Waltair

One of the great deeds of Śri Rāma's early life was the breaking of the bow of Śiva. The bow broke while Rāma was drawing it. Why did the bow break ? The answer that is generally given is this. The bow broke by itself being unable to withstand the natutal force of Rāma's powerful drawing. But a critical analysis shows how untenable this answer is. This was not the first time for Rāma to draw a bow. Just a little while ago in the acts of killing Tāṭaka and protecting the sacrifice of Viśvāmitra he drew his bow and it withstood his powerful drawing. And that bow was an ordinary one in that it was manufactured by a human bow-maker of Ayodhyā. As opposed to it Śiva's bow was divine : it was made by Viśvakarman himself. The only bow that was equal to it was that of Viṣṇu. No other bow would come anywhere near to it in strength. It was with this bow that Śiva killed the Tripura demons, demolished Dakṣa's sacrifice and fought a duel with Viṣṇu. It could not be drawn by gods, *Gandharvas*, *Asuras* and *Rākṣasas*.[1] So it does not stand to reason to say that such a bow of Śiva could not stand the natural force of Rāma's powerful drawing when an ordinary bow could stand it.

But here one point may be urged. Paraśurāma spoke about Śiva's bow in the following manner :

विरोधे च महद्युद्धमभवद्रोमहर्षणम् ।
शितिकण्ठस्य विष्णोश्च परस्परजयैषिणोः ॥
तदा तु जृम्भितं शैवं धनुर्भीमपराक्रमम् ।
हुङ्कारेण महादेवः स्तम्भितोऽथ त्रिलोचनः ॥

S. R. p. 95.

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[1] अप्रमेयबलं घोरं मखे परमभास्वरम् ।
नास्य देवा न गन्धर्वा नासुरा न च राक्षसाः ।
कर्तुमारोपणं शक्ता न कथञ्चन मानुषा : ॥
Śrimad Rāmāyaṇa published by Vavilla Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sons, Madras, p. 45.
दक्षयज्ञवधे पूर्वं धनुरायम्य वीर्यवान् ।
तदेतद्देवदेवस्य धनू रत्नं महात्मनः ॥ S. R. p. 84.
इमे द्वे धनुषी श्रेष्ठे दिव्ये लोकाभिविश्रुते ।
दृढे बलवती मुख्ये सुकृते विश्वकर्मणा ॥
अतिसृष्टं सुरैरेकं त्र्यम्बकाय युयुत्सवे ।
त्रिपुरघ्नं नरश्रेष्ठ भग्नं काकुत्स्थ यत्त्वया ॥

From this we may conclude that Śiva's bow was damaged in the battle and so when Rāma was drawing it, it broke at the damaged spot. This explanation is not correct. First the word '*jṛmbhita*' (used in the passage quoted above) does not mean 'damaged': it means 'motionless' and this motionlessness was caused by *Huṅkāra*. Further the same verse says that Śiva was also made motionless. From this it is clear that the motionlessness of the bow was due to the motionlessness of Śiva himself. Thus this verse does not support the view that Śiva's bow was damaged. Further according to this view the greatness of Rāma's prowess is indicated by his lifting and stringing the bow but not by breaking it. But *Rāmāyaṇa* extols the breaking of the bow as a great exploit. For example

राम दाशरथे राम वीर्यं ते श्रूयतेऽद्भुतम् ।
धनुषो भेदनश्चैव निखिलेन मया श्रुतम् ॥
तदद्भुतमचिन्त्यं च भेदनं धनुषस्त्वया ।
तच्छ्रुत्वाहमनुप्राप्तो धनुर्गृह्यापरं शुभम् ॥

S. R p. 94.

Further *Rāmāyaṇa* describes the sound produced by the breaking of the bow as inconceivably terrific.

तच्च शब्दो महानासीन्निर्घातसमनिस्वनः ।
भूमिकम्पश्च सुमहान् पर्वतस्येव दीर्यतः ॥
निपेतुश्च नरास्सर्वे तेन शब्देन मोहिताः ।
वर्जयित्वा मुनिवरं राजानं तौ च राघवौ ॥

S. R. p. 85.

This completely rules out the possibility of the breaking of the bow at a damaged spot. For in this case such a terrific sound would never issue forth. For the same reason as mentioned above we cannot accept the explanation that the bow was old and was in a ruinous condition and so broke.[2] Further *Rāmāyaṇa* describes Śiva's bow and Viṣṇu's bow as being made at the same time.[3] Now when Viṣṇu's bow which was with Paraśurām was in a very good shape how can one hold Śiva's bow as old and ruinous.

Thus when the explanation that Śiva's bow broke on its own accord is proved to be untenable it remains to be accepted that it was broken by Rāma intentionally. The following narrative verse of Vālmīki supports this point.

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[2] In *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* Paraśurāma actually expressed this view :

पुराणं जर्जरं चापं भु(भ)ङ्क्त्वा त्वं कत्थसे मुधा ।

Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa published by Vavilla Ramaswami & Sons, p. 42.

Some Sanskrit Rāma-dramas also put similar words in Paraśurāma's mouth. But we must not take these words of Paraśurāma literally; they are only meant to belittle Rāma's great exploit.

[3] See foot-note 1.

तद्बभञ्ज धनुर्मध्ये नरश्रेष्ठो महायशाः

Here Vālmīki states that Rāma broke the bow. This point namely that Rāma broke the bow intentionally, is further supported by the following circumstances.

Janaka asked Viśvāmitra, who came to his palace with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa as to what he could do for him. Viśvāmitra asked Janaka to show the bow of Śiva to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Then Janaka after recounting the way he got the bow and his declaration regarding giving away Sītā in marriage offered to give Sītā to Rāma if the latter stringed the bow.[4] After hearing the words of Janaka Viśvāmitra asked him to show the bow to Rāma. Janaka then caused the bow brought and after describing its greatness asked Viśvāmitra to show the bow to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Then Viśvāmitra asked Rāma to look at the bow. So far there was no question of drawing the bow at all. But after opening the box Rāma asked for permission to touch, move and draw the bow. After getting the permission he lifted, stringed and drew the bow. When he was drawing it, the bow broke.[5]

The specific request of Rāma that he may be permitted to draw the bow shows that he had some purpose behind it. Sītā would be won by the stringing of the bow itself. Therefore winning of Sītā was not the purpose. As there was no other purpose we have to presume the visible result, namely, the breaking itself as the purpose of the drawing of the bow.

We must note here one point. Without his asking it, Rāma was allowed to string the bow. When such was the case would it be unacceptable to Janaka and Viśvāmitra if he also tried to draw it ? Why should he specifically ask for such a permission ? The answer is this : If Rāma was merely drawing the bow out of curiosity there might not have been any necessity for him to ask for the permission. But he was going to break it under the pretext of drawing it. Therefore he should obtain the permission to draw it. For the bow was obtained by Janaka as the fruit of a sacrifice and it was there in his palace as an object of worship.[6] So it would be unwise for him to draw the bow without getting his express permission for it. So this act of Rāma, namely his seeking the express permission to draw the bow, is in itself a pointer to the fact that he broke the bow intentionally.

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[4] यद्यस्य धनुषो रामः कुर्यादारोपणं मुने ।
सुतामयोनिजां सीतां दद्यां दाशरथेरहम् ॥ S. R. p. 84.

[5] इदं धनुर्वरं ब्रह्मन् संस्पृशामीह पाणिना ।
यत्नवांश्च भविष्यामि तोलने पूरणेऽपि वा ॥
बाढमित्येव तं राजा मुनिश्च समभाषत ।
... ...
आरोपयित्वा धर्मात्मा पूरयामास तद्धनुः ।
तद्बभञ्ज धनुर्मध्ये नरश्रेष्ठो महायशाः ॥ S. R. p. 85.

[6] आयागभूतं नृपतेस्तस्य वेश्मनि राघव ।
अर्चितं विविधैर्गन्धैर्धूपैश्चागुरुगन्धिभिः ॥ S. R. p. 43.

We may also note here one other detail. Instead of directly asking for the permission to draw the bow, Rāma also asked permission, quite unnecessarily, to touch and move it also.[7] This evidently indicates Rāma's desire to keep his request for permission to draw the bow from being conspicuous and this was meant to keep his desire to break the bow from being easily inferrable from the result. Thus this very attempt of Rāma to keep his request for the permission of drawing the bow inconspicuous is in itself a pointer to his intentional breaking of the bow.

To break the bow, Rāma should draw it with force and speed. The following words of Sītā to Anasūyā bear direct testimony to it.

> निमेषान्तरमात्रेण तदानम्य स वीर्यवान् ।
> ज्यां समारोप्य झटिति पूरयामास वीर्यवत् ॥
> तेन पूरयता वेगान्मध्ये भग्नं द्विधा धनुः ॥
>
> S. R. 286

This fact also namely that Rāma drew the bow with force and speed indicates that he intentionally broke the bow with a special effort.

Now we are faced with another question why should Rāma break the bow intentionally ? What was it that he wanted to achieve by that ? The things that happened before and after the breaking of the bow supply the answer.

The first answer that suggests itself immediately is the ego of Rāma. As Bhavabhūti puts न तेजस्तेजस्वी प्रसृतमपरेषां विषहते. Rāma could not swallow the encomiums showered on the might of Śiva's bow. Both the *Ṛṣis* of the hermitage of Viśvāmitra and Janaka praised its might in very high terms. There was also a note of doubt in the words of Janaka as to whether Rāma could move it even.[8] All this might have roused the ego of Rāma who was in the bloom of new youth and so he wanted to exhibit his great might and consequently broke the bow.

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[7] See foot note 5.

[8] इदं धनुर्वरं ब्रह्मन् जनकैरभिपूजितम् ।
राजभिश्च महावीर्यैरशक्तैः पूरितुं पुरा ॥
नैतत्सुरगणाः सर्वे नासुरा न च राक्षसाः ।
गन्धर्वयक्षप्रवरास्सकिन्नरमहोरगाः ॥
क्व गतिर्मानुषाणां तु धनुषोऽस्य प्रपूरणे ॥
आरोपणे समायोगे वेपने तोलनेऽपि वा ॥ S. R. p. 85.
Also see the foot note 1.

But a critical examination of the consequences of the breaking of the bow show that Rāma did not break the bow just to show off his great strength but had in view a specific end to be achieved.

The only direct consequence of the breaking of the bow was the infuriation of Paraśurāma. The result of this was the passing of the Viṣṇu-bow to Rāma from Paraśurāma. Rāma gave this bow to Varuṇa for safe-keeping.[9] Taking it from Varuṇa Indra gave it to Agastya. Agastya gave it back to Rāma when the latter called on him before entering the *Daṇḍaka*-forest.[10] When Rāma's original bow was broken in the battle with Khara, Rāma took up this Viṣṇu-bow[11] and from then onwards used it in all the subsequent battles. Thus a critical consideration of this chain of events shows that Rāma broke the bow of Śiva to gain the bow of Viṣṇu that was so essential for his further battles.

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[9] गते रामे प्रशान्तात्मा रामो दाशरथिर्धनुः ।
वरुणायाप्रमेयाय ददौ हस्ते ससायकम् ॥ S. R. p. 96.

[10] इदं दिव्यं महच्चापं हेमरत्नविभूषितम् ।
वैष्णवं पुरुषव्याघ्र निर्मितं विश्वकर्मणा ॥
अमोघः सूर्यसङ्काशो ब्रह्मदत्तः शरोत्तमः ।
दत्तौ मम महेन्द्रेण तूणी चाक्षायसायकौ ॥
सम्पूर्णौ निशितैर्बाणैर्ज्वलद्भिरिव पावकैः ।
महारजतकोशोऽयमसिर्हेमविभूषितः ॥
अनेन धनुषा राम हत्वा संख्ये महासुरान् ।
आजहार श्रियं दीप्तां पुरा विष्णुर्दिवौकसाम् ॥
तद्धनुस्तौ च तूणीरौ शरं खड्गं च मानद ।
जयाय प्रतिगृह्णीष्व वज्रं वज्रधरो यथा ॥
एवमुक्त्वा महातेजास्समस्तं तद्वरायुधम् ।
दत्त्वा रामाय भगवानगस्त्यः पुनरब्रवीत् ॥ S. R. p. 305.
वैष्णवमिति परशुरामाद् गृहीत्वा वरुणहस्ते दत्तं रामेण तदेव ।
वरुणः खरादिवधः सन्निहित इत्यगस्त्यस्य हस्ते निक्षिप्तवान् इत्यवगम्यते वैष्णवशब्दप्रत्यभिज्ञानात् ॥

Śrīmadrāmāyaṇa Govindrājiya commentary published by Vavilla Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sons, Volume I, p. 1030,

वैष्णवं त्वदीयं धनुः परशुरामात् गृहीत्वा देवेषु तिष्ठत्विति वरुणे न्यस्तम् खरादिवधः प्रत्यासन्न इति मत्वा इन्द्रेणागस्त्ये निहितमिति वेदितव्यम् ।

S. R. Commentary of Maheśvara Tirtha, V.R.S. & Sons, I Vol. p. 1030.

[11] ततोऽस्य सशरं चापं मुष्टिदेशे महात्मनः ।
खरश्चिच्छेद रामस्य दर्शयन् पाणिलाघवम् ॥
ततो गम्भीरनिर्ह्रादं रामः शत्रुनिबर्हणम् ।
चकारान्ताय स रिपोस्सज्यमन्यन्महद्धनुः ॥
सुमहद्वैष्णवं यत्तदतिसृष्टं महर्षिणा ।
वरं तद्धनुरुद्यम्य खरं समभिधावत ॥ S. R. p. 328.

From the time of his battle with Mārica and Subāhu who belonged to Rāvaṇa's Camp, Rāma knew that a fight to the end with the *Rākṣasas* was imminent. To fight with the *Rākṣasas* like Rāvaṇa and others who were mighty both in physical strength as well as in penance, a bow made by men would not be sufficient. For this, he needed a divine bow of very great strength. There were only two such bows—the bow of Śiva and the bow of Viṣṇu. Of these the bow of Śiva was with Janaka as an object of worship. So it was not available for him. (Further, it would not be proper for Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, to fight with the bow of Śiva with which the latter fought him). So he must get the bow of Viṣṇu. At that time it was with Paraśurāma.[12]. The only way to get it was the breaking of the bow of Śiva. Paraśurama conquered the *Kṣatriyas* many times and earned the fame of an unparalleled warrior. He was very zealous of his fame and would not brook any challenge to it. That was why he proclaimed that he would kill a warrior that conquered a congregation of the *Kṣatriyas.*[13] Now this act of Rāma, namely the breaking of the bow of Śiva which was of equal strength with Paraśurāma's own bow of Viṣṇu, was a challenge to Paraśurāma's fame. So the impetuous Paraśurāma would surely seek a duel with him. Since the unimaginable breaking of the Śiva-bow took place in Paraśurāma's absence, in order to see for himself the truth of it, Paraśurāma would also most likely ask him to draw his own Viṣṇu-bow before the duel. He (Rāma) could use this opportunity to baffle Paraśurāma and retain the Viṣṇu-bow with him somehow or other. Having visualised thus, Rāma broke the bow of Śiva. And then everything happened as he foresaw. When Paraśurāma gave his bow and arrow to him, Rāma aimed the arrow at the defenseless Paraśurāma and saying that the arrow of Viṣṇu would not go in vain asked him to choose whether he should cut the movement of his (Paraśurāma's) feet or destroy the regions earned by his penance. Paraśurāma, very much upset by this unexpected turn of events, muttering that he should not stay during the night times on earth, chose the regions of his penance as the target and saying that Rāma should be no other than Viṣṇu himself [14] went away without claiming his bow back.

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[12] इदं तु वैष्णवं राम धनुःपरपुरञ्जयम् ।
ऋचीके भार्गवे प्रादाद्विष्णुः सन्यासमुत्तमम् ॥
ऋचीकस्तु महातेजाः पुत्रस्याप्रतिकर्मणः ।
पितुर्मम ददौ दिव्यं जमदग्नेर्महात्मनः ॥
तदिदं वैष्णवं राम पितृपैतामहं महत् । S. R. p. 95.

[13] This was referred to in the *Mahābhārata.*
इयं चापि प्रतिज्ञा ते तदा राम महामुने ।
जित्वा वै क्षत्रियान् सर्वान्ब्राह्मणेषु प्रतिश्रुता ॥
यश्च कृत्स्नं रणे क्षत्रं निर्जेष्यति समागतम् ।
दीप्तात्मानमहं तं च हनिष्यामीति भर्गव ॥
Mahābhārata published by Vivili Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sons, p. 1676.

Thus a critical study of the events surrounding the breaking of the bow of Śiva reveals that Rāma broke the bow of Śiva intentionally and it was for the sake of gaining the mighty bow of Viṣṇu.

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[14] अक्षय्यं मधुहन्तारं जानामि त्वां सुरेश्वरम् ।
धनुषोऽस्य परामर्शात्स्वस्ति तेऽस्तु परन्तप ॥ S. R. p. 96·

HANUMAT'S JOURNEY FROM KIṢKINDHĀ TO LAṄKĀ

By

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Tradition is no doubt good, but sometimes it leads to wrong conclusions. One such incident in *Rāmāyaṇa* is Hanumān's journey from Kiṣkindhā to Laṅkā. Tradition is that he went to Laṅkā, the present Ceylon from Rāmĕśvaram, East coast city of India in Tamil Nāḍu. But is it supported by facts in *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* ? If we take facts as they are, one would be surprised at the conclusions. I will simply take facts from *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* and it is for the readers to judge whether they are right or wrong.

After Rāvaṇa took away Sītā, both Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa searched for her near Pañcavaṭī and while they were coming in southernly direction they met Kabandha who gave them some hints about the way of finding Sītā. He asked them to make friendship with Sugrīva and he makes the following comments on Sugrīva.

न तस्याविदितं लोके किंचिदस्ति हि राघव ।
यावत् सूर्यः प्रतपति सहस्रांशुः परंतप ॥
V. R.* III.72.23^{cd}–24^{ab}.

" Make friendship with Sugrīva who knows every place on this world. " The reader must note that next to Viśvāmitra of 7000 B. C. and Vyāsa of 3000 B. C., Sugrīva of 4400 B. C. was the greatest Astronomer. So one must have the faith in the words of Kabandha.

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa then proceeded to Ṛṣyamūka Parvata where Sugrīva was living. They make friendship with each other and Sugrīva promises to find out the whereabouts of Sītā. Herein lies the secret of Hanumān's journey. Sugrīva divides the entire world into four divisions; East, West, South and North and describes the boundaries of South with Vindhya Mountains as the starting point.

सहस्रशिरसं विन्ध्यं नानाद्रुमलतायुतम् ।
नर्मदां च नदीं रम्यां महोरगनिषेविताम् ॥
V. R. IV.41.8.

Since he knew that Rāvaṇa was in an island in Southern ocean he entrusted the search for Sītā to Hanumān. He asked to start the search and visit all the

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* The edition used for all the references to Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa in this article is the Gita Press edition, V. S. 2017, First edition.

South Indian places and finally jump to Laṅkā from Mahĕndra Parvata situated in West Coast.

India in 8000 B. C. extended upto equator and southern portion was ruled by Tamil kings. Kapāṭapura was here and Mahĕndra Parvata was also in West coast. He uses the word Malaya Mountains as equal to Western Ghats. Sugrīva asks Hanumān to go in the direction of Agastya Āśram. Since he was an astronomer he uses the word with a double meaning. One must note that one could see Agastya *Nakṣatra* from 7000 B. C. to 7000 A.D. Due to a change in the position of vernal equinox it will be very difficult to see that star after 7000 A. D. and one would see it only in the southern hemisphere of the earth.

After getting these instructions Hanumān immediately went to Vindhya Mountains which is North of Kiṣkindhā. Many people believe that Hanumān went to some imaginary Vindhya Mountains in South. How could he go against the direction of his Marster ? Only if we could understand this point the whole secret of Hanumān's journey could be found out and truth established.

When Hanumān and others began their search in Vindhya range they were caught up in Svayamprabhā cave and by the time they came out a month had already expired which was the time allotted by Sugrīva to search for Sītā. They were on the sea shore near Narmadā river and they were contemplating to end their lives. Sampāti, brother of Jaṭāyu, who was on the Vindhya Mountain came to their resque. After hearing all their difficulties, Sampāti narrates his own story and tells them that he could see Laṅkā 400 Yōjanas i.e. 1600 miles in a straight direction. This shows that the Laṅkā was to the West of India, a part of Madagaskar. He asks them to go in the Southernly direction and asks them to jump from Mahĕndra Parvata.

इतो द्वीपो समुद्रस्य सम्पूर्णे शतयोजने ।
तस्मिँल्लङ्कापुरी रम्या निर्मिता विश्वकर्मणा ॥
अहं तात यथाकालमामिषार्थी खमाप्लुतः ।
महेन्द्रस्य गिरेर्द्वारमावृत्य सुसमाश्रितः ॥

V. R. IV. 58.20 and 59.12.

Sampāti clearly uses the word "*Sampūrṇĕ*" which means 4 and so Laṅkā is 400 *Yōjanas* i. e. 1600 miles from Vindhya Mountain and Narmadā River in a straight Southernly direction whereas he uses the word only "*Śatayōjana*" from Mahĕndra Parvata to Laṅkā. i. e. about 400 miles. He tells them to jump about 100 *Yōjanas* i.e. about 400 miles to Laṅkā. One must note here that Vālmīki never makes mention of any southern State. This simply shows that Hanumān after getting instructions from Sampāti went by the sea shore to Mahĕndra Parvata. The following words are a clear evidence of it.

अथ पवनसमानविक्रमाः प्लवगवराः प्रतिलब्धपौरुषाः ।
अभिजिदभिमुखां दिशं ययुर्जनकसुतापरिमार्गणोन्मुखाः ॥
दक्षिणस्य समुद्रस्य समासाद्योत्तरां दिशम् ।

V. R. IV.63.15.

संनिवेशं ततश्चक्रुर्हरिवीरा महाबलाः ॥
प्रसुप्तमिव चान्यत्र क्रीडन्तमिव चान्यतः ।
क्वचित् पर्वतमात्रैश्च जलराशिभिरावृतम् ॥

V. R. IV.64.4-5

What Vālmīki says is very clear. He never minces any words or places. It is better to believe his words rather than to think in our own way.

Sampāti uses one word which gives doubt to many people in India.

दक्षिणस्योदधेस्तीरे विन्ध्योऽयमिति निश्चितः ।

V. R. IV.60.7^{cd}.

Evidently we Indians of the present century are unable to understand the correct geographical position of India in 4000 B. C. Vindhya is the mountain separating Bhārata between North and South. The Sea beach was at one end of the Vindhyas. In those days Rajaputana was a sea and to those who were living on the banks of the Sarasvatī River Arabian Sea was the Southern ocean. That is why Vālmīki uses *Mahāsāgara* which is an extension of Southern ocean. Added to this, Sampāti himself explains the meaning of this as follows :

हिमवांश्चैव विन्ध्यश्च मेरुश्च सुमहागिरिः ।
भूतले सम्प्रकाशन्ते नागा इव जलाशये ॥
तीव्रः स्वेदश्च खेदश्च भयं चासीत् तदावयोः ।
समाविशत मोहश्च ततो मूर्च्छा च दारुणा ॥
न च दिग् ज्ञायते याम्या न चाग्नेयी न वारुणी ।
युगान्ते नियतो लोको हतो दग्ध इवाग्निना ॥

V. R. IV.61.9-11.

When the forest appeared like grass, the river like threads and mighty mountains like the Himālayas, the Vindhya and the Mĕru like elephants immersed in a pond, we were dazed by the glare of the sun. I fell down on the Vindhya hill and Jaṭāyu on Janasthāna.

What better explanation is necessary than this and how could sampāti fall in the Southern ocean; far away from Janasthāna. The above explanation clearly proves that Sampāti fell on Vindhya range. Vālmkiī is very definite about the position of Vindhya range, Malaya hills, Mahĕndra Parvata and Laṅka.

From the above discussions it is very clear that Hanumān went to Vindhya Mountains, from there along the sea shore to Mahĕndra Parvata and from there went to Laṅkā 400 miles away from Mahĕndra Paravat. He fell on *Māgha Pūrṇimā* day 4401 B. C. and before entering Laṅkā first gets down on Malaya Parvata near Laṅkā.

After Hanumān's return to Kiṣkindhā, Rāma takes the nearest possible route to Mahĕndra Paravata via the present Pālghāt section of the Kĕrala State. From there he goes to Mahĕndra Paravata and then to Laṅkā. If the Government of India makes an honest attempt they can easily find out the bridge now submerged under the sea. On his way back also Rāma takes a little bit different route as he was travelling by plane. Instead of crossing to India at Pālghāt Section he crosses into India near Mangalore goes straight to Kiṣkindhā, stays there for few hours and reaches Bharadvāja Āśram on the fifth day of *Caitra* 4400 B.C.

Vālmīki uses the words Mahĕndra Parvata, Vindhya and Malaya consistently. How could a great poet like Vālmīki use the same words with different meaning ? Mahĕndra Paravata is used by Sugrīva and Supārśva by Sampati for the same mountains situated in west coast in South India now submerged. Similarly regarding Vindhya mountains. The point however is that when the extreme south of South India submerged in sea in 2700 B. C. and since this submerged portion was under the rule of tamil king, the then Tamil king who was the last man to wash his face in the sea created this Rāmĕśvaram which was very near to present Ceylon, the remaining portion of the submerged area. Rāvaṇa was a black man and black colour is characteristic feature of Africa. Vālmīki in fact explains very clearly when he says :

सर्वकामफलैर्वृक्षैः सर्वकालमनोहरैः ।
तत्र भुक्त्वा वरार्हाणि मूलानि च फलानि च ॥
मधूनि पीत्वा जुष्टानि परं गच्छत वानराः ।

V. R. IV.41.33-34^{ab}.

This shows clearly that Laṅkā was on the equator. It is true that at one or two places such a thing existed in India but it was due to Rāmā's divinity rather than to the condition of natural phenomena. Even now under forcible conditions we can have such type of garden. But that is a very rare case. Thus from the above explanation it becomes very clear that Laṅkā was on the West Coast of India and Hanumān came straight from Vindhya Mountains to Mahĕndra Parvata and flew to Laṅkā. We request the readers to read the latter portion of Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa in full to form their own conclusion on this subject.

तेषां नो विप्रकृष्टानां विन्ध्ये पर्वतसत्तमे ।
भृशं शोकाभितप्तानां महान् कालोऽत्यवर्तत ॥

V. R. VI.126-41.

Some Facts About Rāmāyaṇa

1.	Rāmā's date of birth.	4439 B.C.	*Caitra Navamī* 10th January.
2.	Rāmā's departure for forest.	4414 B.C.	*Caitra Saptamī.*
3.	Hanumān's entry into Laṅkā.	4401 B.C.	*Māgha Pūrṇima.*
4.	Coronation :	4400 B C.	*Caitra Saptamī.*
5.	Publication of Rāmāyaṇa.	4378 B.C.	*Puṣya Māsa.*
6.	Rāmā's death.	4377 B.C.	*Caitra Māsa.*

7.	September 23rd	*Śaradṛtu*	*Dhanus*	248°	*Puṣya*
	March 21st.	*Vasantaṛtu*	*Mithuna*	68°	*Aśāḍha*
	June 21st.	*Dakṣiṇāyana*	*Kanyā*	158°	*Āśvīja*
	December 22nd	*Uttarāyaṇa*	*Mīna*	338°	*Caitra*

The Influence of Dravidian Culture in Africa.

This study of Hanumān's visit to Laṅkā gives us a clue to the spread and influence of Dravidian culture or to be more particular Tamil culture in South Africa. Last year when Kaunda, the great African statesman who had come to India to receive Nehru Award made a reference to this when he visited Madras. But unfortunately nobody in India gave a correct version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to him. A recent German writer Erich Ven Deniken in his books "*Gods from outer space*" and "*Chariots of the God*" has spoken about our epics very clearly. I wish every Indian read these books. He asserts that all that is stated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is perfectly correct. That apart, this study of Hanumat's route to Laṅka clearly proves that Tamil Nāḍu had spread its culture into South Africa through Laṅkā. Rāvaṇa the African tried his level best to colonize South India. But having failed in his attempt came to an agreement with all South Indian Kings with only one concession and that is to keep the army in Janasthāna. Rāvaṇa was always friendly with Tamil Kings and in particular he was very friendly with Agastya the founder of Dravidian culture. Agastya had been allowed to have his *āśrama* not only to the North of Laṅkā but even to the South of Laṅkā Dvīpa. Vālmīki says it :

अगस्त्यभवनं यत्र निर्मितं विश्वकर्मणा ।

V. R. IV.41.35^{ab}.

Tamilians used to form relationship with Africa through the parts of Marīca and Kapāṭa cities.

Even during Rāmā's period this submerged portion was almost sinking and this Mahēndra Parvata was half sunk in sea. Vālmīki clearly says it :

जातरूपमयः श्रीमानवगाढो महार्णवम् ।

V. R. IV.41-21^{ab}.

II

Accuracy of Vālmīki

Vālmīki is the most economical poet in the world ever born and he is correct to the second and mile in all his calculations. To the maximum extent he never uses any extra word.

We shall just find out the accuracy of Vālmīki. The distance of South Pole from Laṅkā as given in the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* works out to be 6250 miles almost equal to present day findings. Hanumān travelled from Laṅkā to India at a speed of 50·60 miles per hour like a ship. He travelled from Ayōdhyā to North Pole and back at a speed of 600 miles to cover up a distance of 6000 miles both ways like an aeroplane. He flew to Himālaya Mountains to bring medicine to Laṅkā in 15 minutes almost equal to the speed of space craft. How wonderful and accurate are his findings. His accuracy can be further appreciated when we analyse the words.

पूर्णे चतुर्दशे वर्षे ।

V. R. VI.124.1ᵃ.

What a wonderful description of sidereal year and tropical year. On the day Rāma left Ayōdhyā with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa to lead a forest life it was *Saptamī Tithi* with *Puṣya Nakṣatra*. Suppose we call it as the first day of Tropical year. Then on his way back he arrived at Bharadvāja *Āśrama* on *Pañcamī Tithi*. The next was *Puṣya* and the next to next was *Saptamī*. So all these three factors which were on the same day fell on different days on his return journey. Evidently Śrī Rāma who knew the calculations well, thought that Bharata may commit suicide on any one of these days. So he sent Hanumān immediately to Bharata on the completion of the tropical year itself, just to save Bharata's life. Of course there might be other considerations, but one should appreciate here the great accuracy of Vālmīki in using these beautiful words. After analysing his accuracy we shall finally consider his astronomical observations which conclusively proves that Laṅkā was to the West of India.

We shall consider this article with a reference to the beautiful stars *Abhijit* and *Saptarṣi*. Great indeed is Vālmīki. His accuracy is something which every man in the world should be proud of.

Like the life on earth, same thing also on *Ākāśa*. Even *Ākāśa* is not free from sex problem. This beautiful star *Abhijit* was 28th wife of Moon. On account of jealousy from other 27 fixed stars she left Moon and became the pole star in 10,000 B.C. She wanted to rejoin Moon and moved further and is in *Dhanus* almost to the opposite of the present pole star Polaris. From 10,000 B.C. upto now it works out to be 12000 years and in Rāmā's time it was from seventy five to 80 degrees latitude. So when Hanumān saw the stars at Vindhya Mountains he saw this *Abhijit* star and went in the opposite direction. *Abhijit* is a northern star and so he was able to find out the Southern direction. One must note here that one could see the star only from Vindhya Mountains in 4400 B C. For a man in South India it would not have been possible to see it in 4400 B.C. Thus one could prove conclusively that Hanumān went to Vindhya Mountains and from there started his journey to Laṅkā in the Southern direction. How accurate he is ! Even modern astronomers should be proud of Vālmīki's statement.

In the *Ṛgvĕda* the movement of *Saptarṣi Maṇḍala* is clearly given. In 8576 B.C. this *Maṇḍala* was at *Maghā Nakṣatra.* Its rough speed is about 100 years per *Nakṣatra* and so in 2700 years it comes to its original position. Now this *Maṇḍala* which was at *Maghā Nakṣatra* after completing one and half revolution was in *Dhaniṣṭhā Nakṣatra* at the time of Rāma in 4400 B.C. So when Rāma started on the 3rd day of *Māgha Kṛṣṇa Pakṣa* Lakṣmaṇa gave a beautiful position of all the stars in *Ākāśa* on the 4th day between 4 and 5.30 A.M.

North.	*Saptarṣi*			
Vinus.		East. India.	West.	Laṅkā.
Sun with *Śatabhiṣā*	*Dhaniṣṭhā*	Vaiśākha	*Mūla*	Crux.
			Dhūmakĕtu	
			South West.	

As per modern astronomy we know that *Saptarṣimaṇḍala* was in *Maghā* in 8576 B.C. and in *Dhaniṣṭhā* in 4400 B.C., in *Maghā Nakṣatra* during Mahābhārata War and in *Hasta-Svāti* in 1975 A.D. *Saptarṣi maṇḍala* occupies nearly 1½ *rāśis.* When Rāma started it could be seen only in the early hours of the day near *Dhaniṣṭhā Nakṣatra.* It is this which Vālmīki refers to in the *Rāmāyaṇa.* From the above astronomical facts we can conclusively prove that Hanumān went from Kiṣkindhā to Vindhya the boundary line of Southern India and then started his journey to Laṅkā in Southern direction and left for Laṅka at Mahĕndra Parvata on the *Ekādaśī day of Māgha Śuklapakṣa.*

His description of night on the day when Hanumān started from Laṅkā indirectly proves that Laṅkā was to the West of India.

East	India.	*Puṣya*	*Punarvasu.*	*Mīna.*	*Dhaniṣṭhā*	*Śravaṇa*
Leo			Laṅkā.		with Sun.	West.
Candra.						

This was the position of *Ākāśa* at 6.30 P.M. (IST) on *Māgha pūrṇimā* as given by Vālmīki.

Thus Hanumān starts from India when sun was in *Dhaniṣṭhā* (Note he never used the word Candra), entered Laṅkā when sun was setting with *Dhaniṣṭhā*, started from Laṅkā on his return journey when the sun was setting with *Dhaniṣṭhā* and arrived at India when sun was rising with *Dhaniṣṭhā.* Hanumān himself said that he saw Candra, *Puṣya* and then sun in order. How careful he was in using words. He saw Candra first then as he flew he saw *Puṣya*. *Punarvasu* and then began to see *Swāti* and then he saw sun in *Dhaniṣṭhā*. What a beautiful Astronomical observation! This indirectly proves that Laṅka was to the West of India.

III

Historicity of the Two Great Epics

Historicity of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* can be proved if we understand the Vĕdic Calendar correctly. In 8576 B.C. when Vaivasvata Manu was the King of India, the great seven sages brought into force a calendar based as follows:

They knew two types of years very clearly and they incorporated this principle in their calendar.

1. Permanent sidereal solar year with luni Solar reckoning on it.

2. Changing tropical solar year with first day of the *Madhu* as starting point equal to March 21st with Civil year to start from first *Śukla Prathamā* after autumnal equinox.

3. They used to have 5 year *Pañcāṅga* adding *Adhika Māsa* once in three years and two years. They used to start sidereal solar from *Kumbha* 300° and tropical year from the position of vernal equinox or autumnal equinox. They had civil year after autumnal equinox.

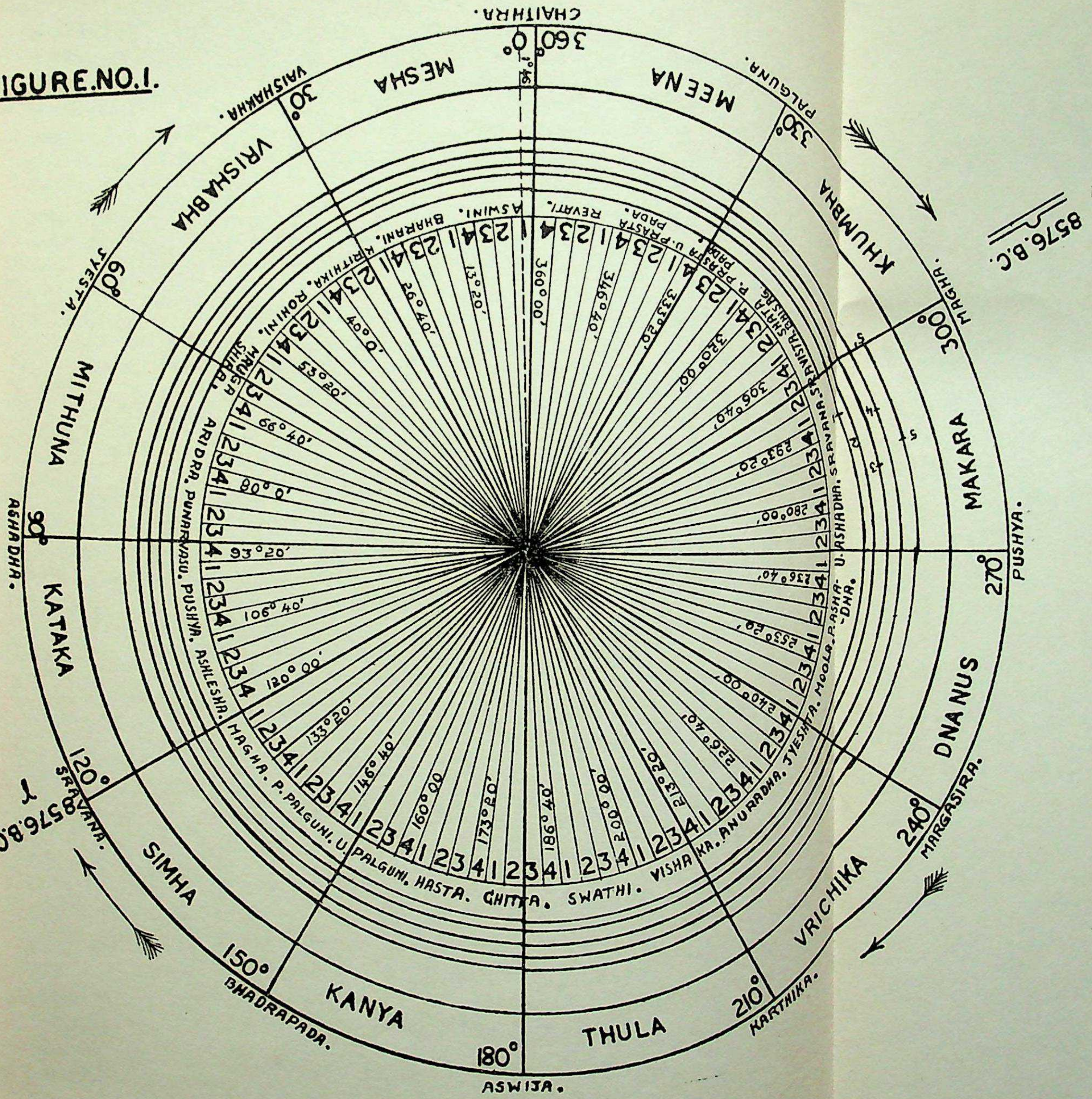
Explanation for 1 and 2 :

1. Sidereal solar was a permanent astronomical year. The Zodiac was a permanent one and was divided into 27 *Nakṣatrās* and 12 segments known as *Mĕṣa* etc. They had a permanent Zero point on the Zodiac to begin Sidereal year. The luni-solar months were marked on it on the basis of the definition that the lunar month is to be named after the position of *Nakṣatra* on *Pūrṇimā* day. Though every year this goes back by 10.74 degs. they had an arrangement to rectify this by adding "*Adhika Māsa*" which restored the position of *Nakṣatra* on *Pūrṇimā* day.

So the first thing to be done is to draw a permanent sidereal Solar with permanent 12 segments and 27 *Nakṣatras* with luni-solar months calculated and marked in the *Pañcāṅga*.

2. Due to precession of equinoxes the ancients used to have tropical Solar year known as *Madhu* etc. They used to mark this on the permanent Sidereal solar year probably once in thousand years because the seasons change their position from one *Nakṣatra* to another *Nakṣatra* once in roughly thousand years. After marking this first point of *Madhu* known as tropical Solar, for civil purposes they used to have a civil year and the first day of civil year was the *Prathamā* of *Śukla* Luni-Solar after the first day of *Madhu* (in ancient times first

FIGURE.NO.1.


CHAITHRA.
360° 0°
1°46'
MESHA
MEENA
VAISHAKHA.
30°
PALGUNA.
330°
VRISHABHA
KHUMBHA
8576.B.C.
JYESTA.
60°
MAGHA.
300°
MITHUNA
MAKARA
AGHADHA.
90°
PUSHYA.
270°
KATAKA
DNANUS
120°
SRAVANA.
8576.B.C.
MARGASIRA.
240°
SIMHA
VRICHIKA
150°
BHADRAPADA.
KANYA
THULA
210°
KARTHIKA.
180°
ASWIJA.
ASWINI. BHARANI. KRITHIKA. ROHINI. MRUGA SHIRA. ARIDRA. PUNARVASU. PUSHYA. ASHLESHA. MAGHA. P. PALGUNI. U. PALGUNI. HASTA. CHITTA. SWATHI. VISHAKA. ANURADHA. JYESHTA. MOOLA. P. ASHADHA. U. ASHADHA. SRAVANA. SRAVISTA. SHATHA BHISAG. P. PRASTA PADA. U. PRASTA PADA. REVATI.
360°00'
346°40'
333°20'
320°00'
306°40'
293°20'
280°00'
266°40'
253°20'
240°00'
226°40'
213°20'
200°00'
186°40'
173°20'
160°00
146°40'
133°20'
120°00'
106°40'
93°20'
80°0'
66°40'
53°20'
40°0'
26°40'
13°20'
1 2 3 4
1 2 3 4 5

VEDIC ZODIAC

1. The figure shows permanent sidereal solar with fixed 27 *Nakṣatras*.

2. Five Year *Yuga Pańcāṅga* is shown by 5 circles with *Adhi māsa* at the end of 3rd and 5th year. Luni-solar months from *Māgha Māsa* are marked there round the Circle. They are also permanent subject to *Adhi Māsa*.

3. In 8575 B.C. tropical year *Iṣa* coincided with sidereal Solar *Kuṁbha* 300° and vernal equinox *Madhu* was at 120°. They had named tropical solar months separately—*Madhu, Mādhava, Śukra, Śuci, Nabhas, Nabhasya, Iṣa, Urja, Sahas, Sahasya, Tapas, Tapasya.*

4. They had marked the 0 point very accurately, but the Government of India Calendar has shifted that point by 1°46'. This is wrong.

They used to start civil year after Autumnal equinox. Thus in 8576 *Māgha Māsa* was the Civil year. In Kṛṣṇa’s days it was *Mārgaśīra*. But during Varāhamihira day’s civil year was changed to Vernal equinox and so *Chaitra Māsa Prathamā* became the civil year.

day of civil year was the *Prathamā* of Luni-Solar after the first day of Īṣa, autumnal equinox). If this is not done then we will be celebrating feasts like " *Yugādi* " and " *Navarātrī* " out of season. The feasts are meant for certain purposes and there is no point in celebrating *Yugādi* in *Uttarāyaṇa* and *Utta·ā-yaṇa* in *Śaradṛtu*. But somehow after the Christian era the writers and computers of *Pañcāṅga* did not take this into consideration and hence confusion in India for the last two thousand years though our ancients knew every thing. After getting our independence the Government of India appointed a Committee to draw up a calendar based not only on ancient wisdom but also to be in tune with modern astronomy. But unfortunately the Calendar is not cent percent correct. The following are some of the mistakes and I have also shown the way to rectify it.

(i) Government of India Zodiac is in error by 1°46′ in relation to Vĕdic Zodiac.

(ii) They have tried to wed sidereal year to tropical solar. This is not correct. They must first mark sidereal solar with luni-solar months marked on it.

(iii) The moving tropical solar year with first day of *Madhu* equal to March 21st should be marked on it and the commencement of the civil year known as the first day of *Śukla Prathamā* should be noted on it (one must note here that the tropical year moves back by 1° once in 72 years).

(iv) They have marked February 21st as the *Madhu*. This is wrong. This shows the colossal ignorance of our great people. One must note here that March 21st is always *Madhu* (why March 21st is a separate story. One must read western calendar to understand it ; when *Madhu* is changed probably once in thousand years March 21st is also changed to the new position of *Madhu*.

(v) Again they have named March 21st as *Mĕṣa*. What a colossal ignorance ! There is nothing like " *Mĕṣa Māsa* ". *Mĕṣa* etc., are permanent segments on a permanent Zodiac. March 21st is always 1st day of *Madhu* and 1st day of " *Vasanta Ṛtu* ".

(vi) There is nothing like *Saṅkramaṇa* every month. There are only 4 *Saṅkramaṇā*s in an year. Sun meets both ecliptic and equator four times a year. Sun has got two movements one round the ecliptic and another from North to South and South to North that is why tropical year gets smaller and smaller. It is for this reason that precession of equinoxes takes place and this ecliptic and equator meet each other 4 times a year known as the first day of *Vasanta Ṛtu*, First day of *Śaradṛtu*, *Uttarāyaṇa* and *Dakṣiṇāyana* and hence *Tarpaṇa*s should be offered on these 4 days to *Dĕvatās*. But so far as *tarpaṇa*s to *pitṛ*s are considered it must be done according to Luni-solar reckoning on *Amāvāsyā* days. **Some of the feasts like *Navarātrī* and *Yugādi* as per the tropical solar with civil** years marked on it. But so far as births and deaths are concerned it must be done as per permanent sidereal solar and luni-solar reckoning.

To sum up we must bring out a new *Pañcāṅgā* based on the following two points.

(a) You must mark first permanent sidereal solar on a permanent Zodiac with a permanent Zero point luni-solar months attached to it.

(b) You must try to locate the first point of tropical solar *Madhu* at least once in thousand years and the first day of civil year also must be started nearest to the venral equinox or Autumnal equinox suitable to the ingenuity of the country.

When the ancients had such a clear vision about the universe why this confusion ? After the advent of Western life into our country sun began to enter *Mĕṣa* on vernal equinox and the astronomers of India began to forget the old revolutionary theory of 8576 B.C. and thought only of oscillation theory with the result that tropical *Madhu* became tropical *Mĕṣa* and ultimately they equated this tropical *Mĕṣa* with sidereal permanent *Mĕṣa*. Secondly all the calculations in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are based on 5 year *Pañcāṅga* with the starting point of *Dhaniṣṭhā Nakṣatra*, *Kumbha rāśī*, but the Indian Astronomers including the foreigners began to calculate from *Mĕṣa* and so they were not able to find out the correct planetary position as given by our great astronomer Vĕdavyāsa in the *Mahābhārata*. If only intellectuals in India rethink on the above points they will find out the greatness of our culture and tradition.

Based on the above facts, we shall decide the position of sun and moon on 12th April 1975 and also the position in 2575 A.D.

12th April 1975 :

1 (a) The sidereal solar year begins on Saturday 12th April 1975 at 9°4′ A.M. by the entry of sun into beginning of *Aśvinī Mĕṣa* segment 1st day.

1 (b) The *Caitra Śukla Mĕṣa* (Luni-Solar) begins on Saturday 12th April 1975 *Amāvāsyā* ending at 10-10 P. M. the previous day (Friday)

2 (a) The tropical solar year begins on 1st day *Madhu*-Friday 21st March 1975 at 10-30 A. M. the *Nakṣatra* being *Uttarābhādrapadā* 2nd *Pāda Mīna* segment at 338°25′ *Ayanāṁśa* being 21°37′ Vernal equinox *Vasanta Ṛtu.*

2 (b) The civil year begins on *Caitra śukla* 12th April 1975 A.D. *Vasanta Ṛtu*, *Uttarāyaṇa* (in ancient days civil year was after autumnal equinox).

Position in 2575 A.D. :

1 (a) The sidereal year begins on 21st April 2575 A.D. by the entry of sun into *Aśvinī*, *Mĕṣa* Segment 1st day.

(b) *Phālguna Śukla Prathamā* becomes the *Yugādi* and *Bhādrapada* becomes *Navarātrī*.

2 (a) The tropical solar begins on 1st day *Madhu* 21st March 2575 A.D. the *Nakṣatra* being *Pūrvā Bhādrapadā* and of 3rd *pāda* beginning of *Mīna* segment or end of *Kuṁbha* segment 330° *Ayanāṁśa* being 30°.

(b) The civil year begins on *Prathamā Śukla, Phālguna Māsa, Vasanta Ṛtu, Uttarāyaṇa.*

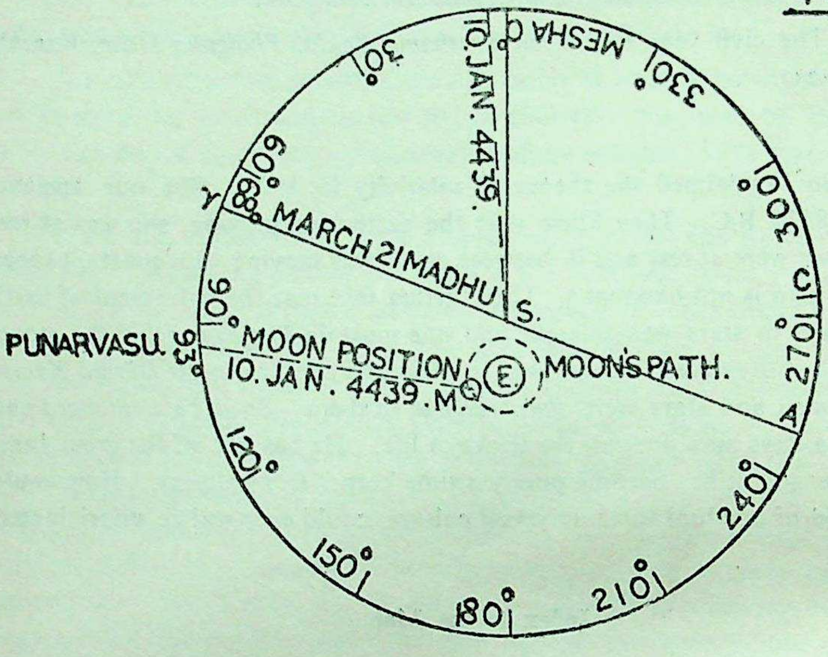
Conclusion :

Einstein Proclaimed the theory of relativity in 1905. But our ancients knew it in 8576 B.C. They knew that the earth was moving, sun was at rest and fixed stars were at rest and in between earth was moving with constant speed (But alas ! man is not like that). They further said that the movement of earth with reference to stars was sidereal and one must do *Pitṛ Kārya* and the movement of earth with reference to sun was tropical and one has to do *Dĕvatā Kārya.* Sun was *Ātman* and stars were *Parabrahman* to them. So in between *para* and *Ātman* now-a-days man does all the tricks of life. He has left off the great luni-solar culture and it has become purely a time keeper-tropical year. How could a man devoid of our luni-solar universal culture, could ever realize unoriginated *Brahman.*

Index to the Map

C + 1. Area ruled by Tamil Kings.
2. Vālī's Kingdom.
3. Rāvaṇa's Army Centre.
4. Tāṭakāvana.
5. Kirātārjuna. C–Ceylon.
V. Vindhya Range.
P. Pañcavaṭī. J. Janasthāna.
K. Kiṣkindhā. W. Western Ghats, Malaya Mountains.
H. Mahĕndra Parvata.
M. Malaya Parvata. R. Citrakūṭa.
N. Narmadā River. G. Gōdāvarī River.
T. Tuṅgabhadrā River.
V to M. .. 1600 Miles.
H to M. .. 400 Miles.
/// Area now submerged under the Sea.
L. LAṄKĀ CITY.

FIGNO 2 JAN, 10, WEDNESDAY, CHAITRA-SUKLA NAVAMI.
4439. BC.


10. JAN. 4439.
MESHA 0°
330°
300°
C
270°
A
240°
210°
180°
150°
120°
PUNARVASU. 93°
90°
MOON POSITION
10. JAN. 4439. M.
E
MOON'S PATH.
S.
MARCH 21 MADHU
♈
68°
60°
30°

Details for Figure No. 2

1. (a) Sidereal solar sun entering *Kuṁbha.*

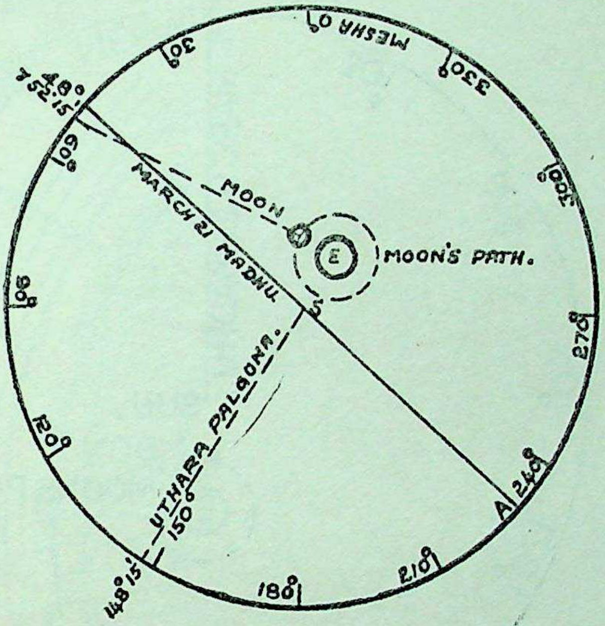
   (b) Luni-Solar *Māgha Māsa Śukla Prathamā* with sun entering *Dhaniṣṭhā* on *Amāvāsyā* day. Previous to this *Śukla Prathamā.*

2. (a) Tropical Solar at 68° Vernal equinox 248° Autumnal equinox.

   (b) Civil year-*Puṣya Śukla Prathamā* after Autumnal equinox. In this figure Rāma's date of birth is given by dotted lines. Sun entering *Meṣa* Second day and Moon entering *Punarvasu* 93°20′
   Thus in Rāma's days sun used to enter *Meṣa* in Jan. In Kṛṣṇa's days Feb. In Varāhamihira's days in March and now in April.

FIG.NO.3.

27.JULY.3112.BC.FRIDAY, BHADRAPADA KRISHNASTAMI.


MESHA 0°
30°
330°
48°
752.15
60°
300°
MOON
MARCH 21 MADHU
E
MOON'S PATH.
S
90°
270°
UTHARA PALGUNA.
120°
150°
240°
A
148°15
180°
210°

Details for Figure No. 3

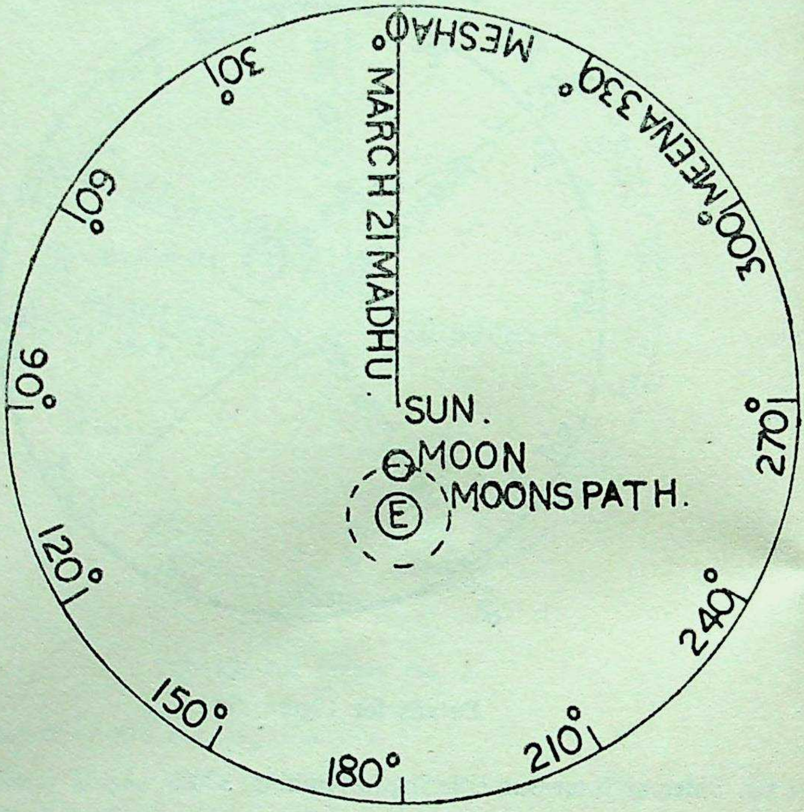
1 (a) Sidereal Solar Sun entering in Kuṁbha 300°.

(b) Luni-Solar—*Māgha Māsa Śukla Prathamā.* Previous day sun entering *Dhaniṣṭhā* on *Amāvāsyā day.*

2 (a) Tropical Solar at 48° Vernal equinox and 228° Autumnal equinox.

(b) Civil year—*Mārgaśirṣa Māsa Śukla Prathamā* after Autumnal equinox. In Kṛṣṇa's day sun used to enter *Meṣa* in Feb. In this figure Kṛṣṇa's date of birth is given correctly. Sun entering *Uttara Phālguna* and Moon in *Rohiṇī* by dotted lines.

FIGURE NO 4   411 AD

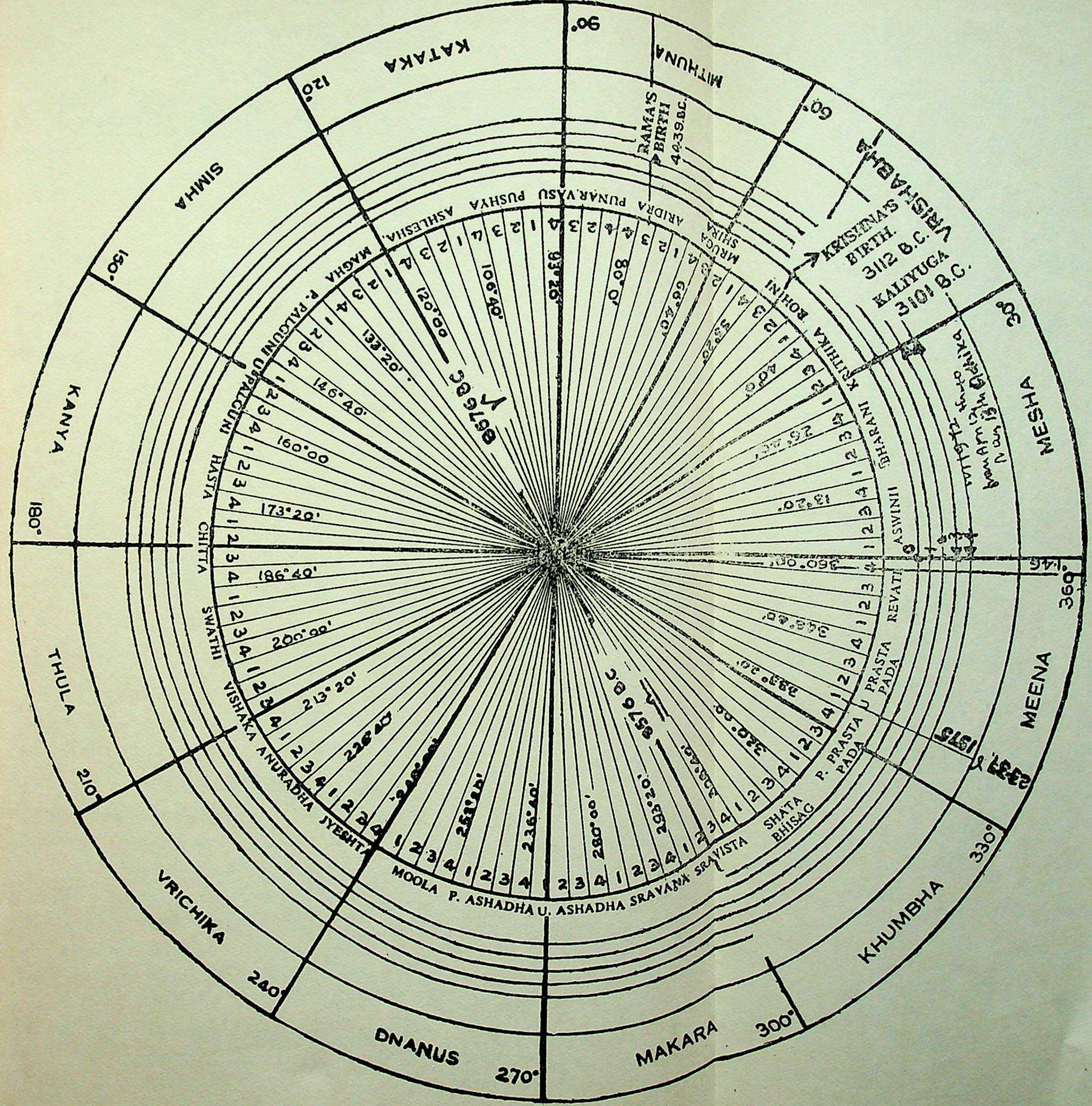

MESHA 0°
MARCH 21 MADHU.
30°
60°
90°
120°
150°
180°
210°
240°
270°
300°
MEENA 330°
SUN.
MOON
MOONS PATH.
E

Details of Figure No. 4

In 411 A.D. tropical Solar *Madhu* coincided with Sidereal Solar *Meṣa* on March 21st i.e. Sun used to enter *Meṣa Aśvinī* on March 21st.

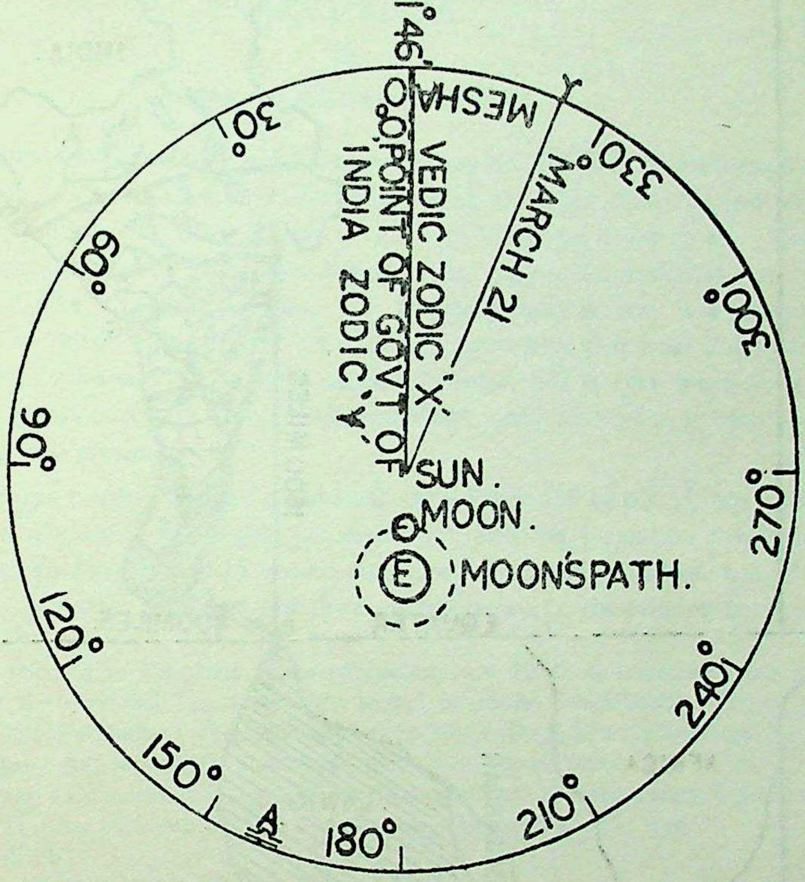
For calculation purposes Sidereal Solar *Kuṁbha* was changed to *Meṣa Rāśi* 0°. Hence Civil year also was changed over from Autumnal equinox to Vernal equinox and so *Chitra Māsa Prathamā* became the starting point of Civil year.

FIGURE NO. 6


90°
KATAKA
120°
SIMHA
150°
KANYA
180°
THULA
210°
VRICHIKA
240°
DNANUS
270°
MAKARA
300°
KHUMBHA
330°
MEENA
360°
MESHA
30°
VRISHABHA
60°
MITHUNA
RAMA'S BIRTH 4439 B.C.
KRISHNA'S BIRTH 3112 B.C.
KALIYUGA 3101 B.C.
8576 B.C.
8576 B.C.
1975
ASWINI
BHARANI
KRITHIKA
ROHINI
MRUGA SHIRA
ARIDRA
PUNAR.VASU
PUSHYA
ASHLESHA
MAGHA
P. PALGUNI
U. PALGUNI
HASTA
CHITTA
SWATHI
VISHAKA
ANURADHA
JYESHTA
MOOLA
P. ASHADHA
U. ASHADHA
SRAVANA
SRAVISTA
SHATA BHISAG
P. PRASTA PADA
U PRASTA PADA
REVATI
1 2 3 4
13°20'
26°40'
40°00'
53°20'
66°40'
80°00'
93°20'
106°40'
120°00'
133°20'
146°40'
160°00'
173°20'
186°40'
200°00'
213°20'
226°40'
240°00'
253°20'
266°40'
280°00'
293°20'
306°40'
320°00'
333°20'
346°40'
360°00'

The present Government of India Zodiac is shown here and the error also is shown. The present position of ratio 23°21′ as per Government of India Zodiac 21°37′ as per Vedic Zodiac. The circles indicate 4 year *Pāñcāṅga* the *Adhi Māsa* being worked out on the basis of *Amāvāsyā* between two *Saṅkramaṇas*.

FIGURE NO 5 12 APRIL 1975


1°46'
MESHA
Y
VEDIC ZODIC X
O POINT OF GOVT OF INDIA ZODIC Y
MARCH 21
30°
60°
90°
120°
150°
A
180°
210°
240°
270°
300°
330°
SUN.
MOON.
E
MOON'S PATH.

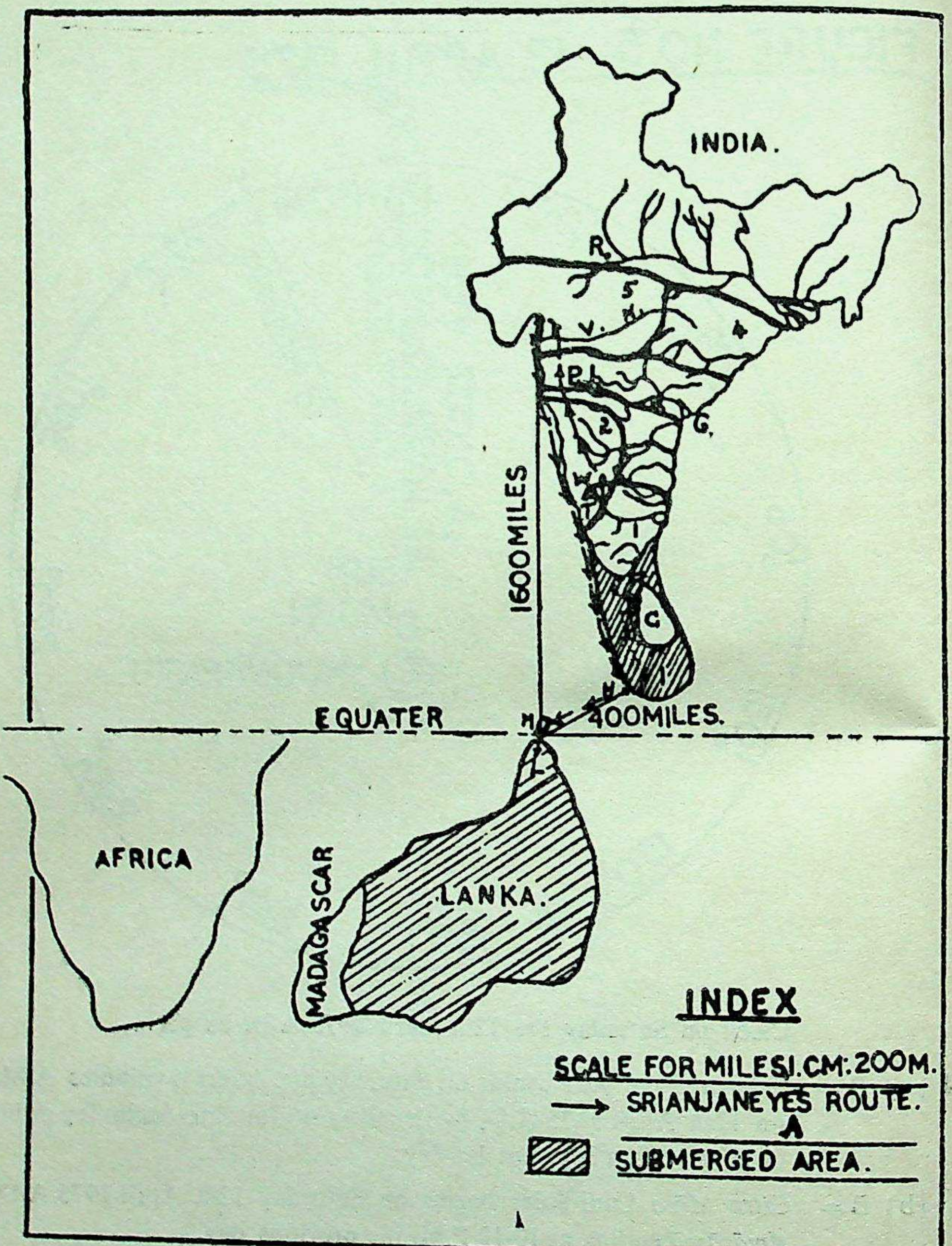
Clock on Saturday the 12th April 1975 A.D. as per

1 (a) B = Sidereal Solar year begins on Saturday at 9 hours 4 minutes A.M. on 12th April 1975 A.D. by the entry of Sun into beginning point of *Aśvinī Meṣa* Segment 1st day.

(b) B = *Citra Māsa* Luni-Solar begins on Saturday 12th April 1975 A.D. *Amāvāsyā* ending at 10-10 P.M. the previous day.

2 (a) C = Tropical Solar year begins on first day of *Madhu* Friday 21st March 1975 A.D. at 10-30 A.M. *Uttarābhādrapadā Nakṣtra*, 2nd *Pāda Mīna* Segment at 338°23′ *ayanāṁśa* being 21°37′

(b) B = Civil year begins on *Citra Śukla* 12th April 1975 A.D. *Vasanta Ṛtu Uttarāyaṇa* (in ancient days civil year was after Autumnal equinox).


INDIA.
R.
5
V.
H.
4
P.
L.
2
G.
1600MILES
C
EQUATER
M
400MILES.
AFRICA
MADAGASCAR
LANKA.
INDEX
SCALE FOR MILES 1.CM: 200M.
SRIANJANEYES ROUTE.
SUBMERGED AREA.

UPAMĀSAMUDDEŚA—A PART OF VṚTTISAMUDDEŚA OF VĀKYAPADĪYA

By

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It is now well-known that in his commentary on *Kāṇḍa* II of *Vākyapadīya* (*VP*), Puṇyarāja[1] refers to three *samuddeśa*s which are other than the fourteen *samuddeśa*s found in the third *Kāṇḍa* of *VP* as it has come down to us. They are, *Lakṣaṇasamuddeśa*,[2] *Bādhāsamuddeśa*[3] and *Upamāsamuddeśa*[4]. It is believed that like the former two, the *Upamāsamuddeśa* too is a missing chapter of the third *Kāṇḍa* of *VP*[5]. I wish to suggest here that what Puṇyarāja refers to as *Upamāsamuddeśa*, is not a missing chapter, but is very much found in the third *Kāṇḍa* as a part of the *Vṛttisamuddeśa*[6]. My contention is based on the following two reasons:

I. A large portion of the *Vṛttisamuddeśa* (*kārikā*s 359 to 624)[7], has been devoted to a discussion of *upamā* (comparison) and the formation involving comparison. Various aspects of *upamā* have been discussed in detail, e.g., the definition of *upamāna*, *upameya* and the common property, the relation between

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[1] I am referring to Puṇyarāja as the commentator on *VP* II in accordance with the tradition. For the view that the commentary should be ascribed to Helārāja and not to Puṇyarāja, see Ashok Aklujkar, 'The Authorship of the Vākya-Kāṇḍa-Ṭīkā', *Charudeva Shastri Felicitation Volume*, pp. 165-'88; C. Shastri Felicitation Committee, Delhi, 1974.

[2] Puṇyarāja's Commentary (*PR*), *VP* II, p. 148; edited with the commentary *Ambākartrī* of Raghunath Sharma, Saraswati Bhawan Granthamala, Vol. 91, Varanasi, 1968.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

[4] (a) एतच्चोपमासमुद्देशेऽप्यर्थविचारणावसरे प्रदर्शयिष्यति । *Ibid.*, p. 233.

(b) Sastri Gaurinath thinks that Puṇyarāja rerers here to his commentary on *Upamāsamuddeśa*. Cf., "Puṇyarāja has assured us that he will be discussing this point more fully in his commentary on the *Upamāsamuddesa*, a section in the third volume of the *Vākyapadīya*. Unfortunately for us this commentary is not available". *The Philosophy of Word and Meaning*, p. 165, f.n. 1; Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1959. But from the words of Puṇyarāja, it is clear that he is referring to the *Upamāsamuddeśa* itself and not to his commentary on it. His words may be translated as follows: "This he (i.e. Bhartṛhari) will demonstrate in detail, while discussing on the meaning, in *Upamāsamuddeśa*.

[5] (a) Subramania Iyer, K. A., *Bhartṛhari*, Deccan College, Poona, 1969, p. 8, para 1.

(b) समुद्देशोऽयं नोपलभ्यते । —Sharma Raghunath, *VP* II, p. 233, f.n. 1.

[6] This possibility is also suggested by Abhyankar K. V. and Limaye V. P. with a question-mark. *Cf.*, "Or does this merely refer to *VP* 3.14.361 ff. where *upamāna* is dealt with?" Introduction to the *Vākyapadiya*, p. VIII, University of Poona Skt. and Pkt. Series no. 2, Poona, 1965.

[7] *VP* III. ii, edited by Subramania Iyer, K. A.; Deccan College, Poona, 1973.

upamāna and *upameya* and other general ideas about *upamā*[8]. The compounds and suffixes[9] in the sense of comparison have been analysed. The notion of comparison inherent in formations like *kākatālīya* has been fully explained[10]. Helārajā points out at different places that the discussions are being made in the context of a discussion on *upamāna*[11]. With such an exhaustive discussion on *upamā* being available here, it seems unlikely that Bhartṛhari might have written a separate chapter on it under the title of *Upamāsamuddeśa*.

II. The detailed discussion which Puṇyarāja points at is actually found in the *Vṛttisamuddeśa*. Bhartṛhari refers to twelve different views on the import of words which, Puṇyarāja says would be further discussed at different places in the third *Kāṇḍa*[12]. One of these views is that the words convey a *samudāya* (aggregate) of various elements, as their denotation, without any reference to the alternation or adding up of those elements. This view has been expressed in a half-verse in second *Kāṇḍa*[13] and Puṇyarāja says that Bhartṛhari will give a detailed treatment to it in the *Upamāsamuddeśa*. This discussion appears in the *Vṛttisamuddeśa* in the same portion (359-624) which deals with the formations involving comparison. While explaining the *Mahābhāṣya* passage that the words like *brāhmaṇa* etc. stand for an aggregate of qualities[14], Bhartṛhari puts forth the view that the words express as their meaning an aggregate of associated elements and in this there is reference neither to alternation nor to adding up[15]. Bhartṛhari and his commentator Helārāja go on discussing this view in good details. Bhartṛhari shows that the meaning cannot be taken as an addition of different meanings because in that case the word will necessarily have plural number[16]. Therefore all the meanings must be accepted as expressed by the word in a general manner. The reason for accepting this view is that the cognitions in our minds are produced as associated with those meanings[17]. Helārāja show how this view differs from the view that the substance qualified by the universal is the meaning of a word The difference is that in the latter view, other meanings like quality and action are merely understood while in the present view they are directly expressed meanings[18]. It has also been pointed out that if a word expressive of an aggregate stands for a particular meaning it does not abandon other meanings. Even in that case the word is *samudāyavṛtti*, expressing the whole as its meaning. The particular meaning is conveyed by superimposing the whole on the part on account of some purpose or context[19]. Bhartṛhari also gives the full import of the examples given in *Mahābhāṣya* in this connection[20]. Thus the idea expressed in a half-verse in the second *Kāṇḍa* has been fully elucidated, in a number of *kārikās*, in the *Vṛttisamuddeśa*. This makes it clear that it is this discussion which Puṇyarāja refers to in his commentary on second *Kāṇḍa*.

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[8] (a) See, for instance, *Kārikās* 373, 380, 383 etc.
(b) For detailed exposition, see Shastri Kapil Deo, (i) 'Bhartṛhari on the Relation between Upamāna and Upameya', *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* (*VIJ*), 2, pp. 87-92, (ii) 'Upamāna, Upameya and Sāmānyavacana according to the Vākyapadiya of Bhartṛhari', *VIJ*, 3, pp. 19-28.

[9] See (i) Subramania Iyer, K. A., 'Bhartṛhari On Taddhita Formations Involving Comparison', *Charudeva Shastri Fel. Vol.*, pp. 241-57, (ii) Shastri, Kapil Deo, 'Significance of the Word Prakāra in the Sūtras of Aṣṭādhyāyi', *VIJ*, 1, pp. 239-46.

[10] See Chaturvedi Mithilesh, 'Kākatālīya—A Grammatical Analysis by Bhartṛhari', *Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Journal*, 17, pp.. 93-99.

[11] (a) इदानीमुपमानप्रसङ्गेनापरं विचार्यत इत्याह ।
—Helārāja's *Prakīrṇa-Prakāśa* (*HPP*), *VP* III.ii, p. 348.
(b) तदेवमुपमानप्रसङ्गायातो वर्तिर्विचारितः । इदमिदानीमुपमानविचारे परीक्षणीयम् ।
—*Ibid.*, p. 413.
(c) इदानीमुपमानप्रसङ्गेन समासाच्च तद्विषयात् इत्ययमिवार्थविषयविधिर्विचार्यते ।
—*Ibid.*, p. 421.
(d) उपमानप्रसङ्गेनेवार्थप्रस्तावाच्छविधिवदन्यदप्यत्र विचार्यते । —*Ibid.*, p. 426.

[12] एवं मतभेदेन प्रदर्शितस्य द्वादशधा पदार्थस्य पदकाण्डे जात्यादिप्रपञ्चैः प्रविभज्य स्वरूपं निर्णेष्यति ।
—*PR*, *VP* II, p. 246.

[13] समुदायोऽभिधेयो वाप्यविकल्पसमुच्चयः । —*VP* II. 126 (ab).

[14] सर्वे एते शब्दाः गुणसमुदायेषु वर्तन्ते ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वैश्यः शूद्र इति ।
—*Mahābhāṣya* (*MB*), 5.1.115, edited by Kielhorn, F., Third Edition, *BORI*, Poona, 1965, Vol. II, p. 363, 12-13.

These two reasons enable us to say that the *Upamāsamuddeśa* referred to by Puṇyarāja is not a missing chapter of *VP*. It is nothing but a section of *Vṛttisamuddeśa*, devoted exclusively to a discussion on various aspects of *Upamā* and the formations involving *Upamā*. It may be that Puṇyarāja only loosely refers to this portion as *Upamāsamuddeśa* on account of its big size.

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[15] समुदायेषु वर्तन्ते भावानां सहचारिणाम् ।
शब्दास्तत्त्वविवक्षायां समुच्चयविकल्पयोः ॥ —*VP* III.ii, *Vṛttisamuddeśa* (*Vṛ.*), 470.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 471.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 472-73.

[18] जात्याविष्टं तु द्रव्यमेवोच्यते द्रव्याभिधानपक्षे । क्रियागुणास्तु द्रव्यस्य निष्क्रियस्य निर्गुणस्य चानुपपत्तेः सामर्थ्यादवगम्यन्त इति पक्षान्तरादस्य विशेषः पक्षस्य, सर्वस्याप्यभिधागोचरत्वादत्र ।
—*HPP*, *Ibid.*, p. 367.

[19] *VP*, III.ii; *Vṛ.*, 474-83.

[20] (a) *MB*, II, p. 363, 17-18.
(b) *VP*, III.ii; *Vṛ.*, pp. 484-88.

A NOTE ON THE WORDS HAṬHAYOGA AND RĀJAYOGA

By

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The word '*Haṭha*' is used to denote a particular school of *Yoga*. The belief that *Haṭhayoga* is a different kind of *Yoga* than *Rājayoga* is seen deeply rooted in the minds of public. A dictionary meaning of *Rājayoga* states, 'An easy mode of meditation (fit for kings to practice) while '*Haṭhayoga*' is described as 'more rigorous practices'. How far this dictionary meaning is appropriate will be considered here.

Pāṇini and Mahābhārata :

While describing '*Haṭha*' etymologically Pāṇini has stated '*Haṭha pluti-śaṭhatyayoḥ*' (335). From this it appears that the root '*Haṭha*' was being used until the times of Pāṇini only in two senses—flying and wickedness. In the *Mahābhārata*[1] (*Vanaparva*, 32 : 16) we come across a quotation which states that 'the things attained without efforts are considered as having obtained by *Haṭha*. From this it appears that the word *Haṭha* was used in the sense of 'without effort'. '*Haṭha*' is also seen being used in terms of 'by force'. *Amarakośa* gives the meaning of '*Haṭha*' as violence.

Paurāṇic Literature:

Description of *Yoga*, *Yogāṅgās* and varieties of *Yoga* have been exhaustively given in the 18 Purāṇas. But there we do not come arcoss the divisions of *Yoga* into *Haṭhayoga* and *Rājayoga*.

In the *Bhāgavata* (11.20.6) we get a statement that "I have discussed the three *Yogas*, namely, *Jñānayoga*, *Karmayoga* and *Bhaktiyoga*. No other *Yogas* apart from these have been narrated elsewhere". From this the absence of *Haṭhayoga* and *Rājayoga* during the *Bhāgavata* period is clearly seen. The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* (*Nirvāṇa*, *Pūrvārdha*, XIII-4) defines *Yoga* as 'means of crossing the *Saṁsāra*' and gives two methods of *Yoga* as *Atmajñāna* and *Prāṇāyāma*. Later, although these two methods were conveyed by the use of the term *Yoga*, yet traditionally *Prāṇāyāma* alone is denoted by the word *Yoga*[2].

Jñāna and *Yoga* are the only two authoritative means (13.11); this has been described further in clear terms. It is indicated from this that the division like *Haṭhayoga* and *Rājayoga* was not existing then. In the 54th chapter of *Upaśama* while describing *Praṇavopāsanā* by Uddālaka we come across the quotation "*Haṭhayogo hi duḥkhadaḥ*" twice. This may give an impression that the term *Haṭhayoga* as a kind of *Yoga* was prevalent. But it is not so. Uddālaka attained a peculiar mental state after the process of *Recaka* during *Praṇavopāsanā*. He did not attain it by force; because use of force is miserable.[3]

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[1] अकस्मादिह यः कश्चिदर्थं प्राप्नोति पूरुषः ।
तं हठेनेति मन्यन्ते स हि यत्नो न कस्यचित् ॥—महाभारत, वन. ३२.१६.

[2] प्रकारौ द्वावपि प्रोक्तौ योगशब्देन यद्यपि ।
तथापि रूढिमायातः प्राणयुक्तावसौ भृशम् ॥—यो. वा., निर्वाण. पू., १३.६.

Here the word '*Haṭha*' signifies 'Force' and *Haṭhayoga* refers to the use of Force. It does not seem to have been used as a kind of *Yoga*.

Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā :

This *Saṁhitā* refers to two *Saṁhitās* described by Hiraṇyagarbha, namely, *Nirodha* and *Karmayoga*. There are twelve sections described of *Karmayoga Saṁhitā*.

The topics dealt with in these sixteen sections have been given in *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā* (12.31-38). But in these the two words—*Haṭhayoga* and *Rājayoga*—are conspicuously absent. In the 31st and 32nd chapters of this *Saṁhitā*, *Aṣṭāṅgayaga* has been elaborately described. But there too, these two words refering to *Yoga* are not found. This should lead to the conclusion that during the period of *Bhāgavata, Yogavāsiṣṭha* and *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, these words were not current.

Śaṅkarācārya :

Many treatises are available on the name of Śrīmadādya Śaṅkarācārya. About some of them the opinion of scholars is divided as regards their authorship by Śaṅkarācārya. But it is worthwhile to study whether even in those treatises we find the two words which we have taken for consideration. These words are not available in Śrīmadādya Śaṅkarācārya's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* and commentaries on ten Upaniṣads. In the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, Śaṅkarācārya has quoted one aphorism as from *Yogaśāstra* '*Yoga* is a method of realising the highest principle.[4]'

This aphorism is not found in the *Pātañjala-Yogasūtras*. Many opine it to be an aphorism of Hiraṇyagarbha. But in the *Ahirbudhnya-Saṁhitā*, referred to above, while defining *Yoga* propounded by Hiraṇyagarbha it is described to be the union of *Jīvātmā* and *Paramātmā*.[5]

From this it appears that the aphorism stating *Yoga* as a means of realizing highest principle, may not belong to Hiraṇyagarbha. This aphorism quoted by Śṅakarācārya may be before Ahirbudhnya as can be seen from the discussion in chapters 31 and 32 of the *Ahirbudhnya-Saṁhitā*. After stating *Yoga* and *Karma* as two ways of emancipation, the eight steps of *Yoga* from *Yama* to *Samādhi* have been mentioned there[6].

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[3] बभूव न हठादेव हठयोगो हि दुःखदः ।—यो. वा., ५.५४.६.१९.

[4] योगशास्त्रेऽपि 'अथ तत्त्वदर्शनोपायो योगः' इति सम्यग्दर्शनाभ्युपायत्वेनैव योगोऽङ्गीक्रियते ।—ब्र. सू. शां. भा. २.१.३.

[5] संयोगो योग इत्युक्तो जीवात्मपरमात्मनोः ।—अहिर्बुध्न्य सं. ३१:१५.

From this and from a peculiar use of the important words we can say that this aphorism must have been before him. With reference to this aphorism or at other times whatever has been discussed by Śaṅkarācārya on *Yoga*, it will be found that the words *Haṭhayoga* and *Rājayoga* have not occurred. In a small treatise of 29 verses, called *Yogatārāvāli*, the words *Haṭha* and *Rājayoga* have been often used. Although the word *Rājayoga* has been specifically used the word *Haṭhayoga* as such is not found. In the verse ' *Sahasraśaḥ santu Haṭheṣu kumbhāḥ* (*10*) ' the word ' *Haṭha* ' has occurred only once. But there its meaning is connected with breathing practice. The word *Rājayoga* occurring twice (verses 14 and 16) means only *Samādhi*. In another treatise called ' *Aparokṣānubhūti* by Śaṅkarācārya, 15 *yogāṅgas* like *tyāga*, *mauna*, *deśa*, *kāla*, *mūlabandha* etc., are given which are followed by this verse :

एभिरङ्गैः समायुक्तो राजयोग उदाहृतः ।
किञ्चित्पक्वकषायाणां हठयोगेन संयुतः ॥—अपरोक्षानु. १४३.

Here the words *Rājayoga* and *Haṭhayoga* are clearly mentioned. The mention of 15 *aṅgas* prior to the above verse, is of the volitional control of mind recommended by Vedānta. The word ' *Haṭhayoga* ' in the above verse has been commented upon by Vidyāraṇyasvāmī as ' *Aṣṭāṅgayoga* ' of Patañjali. (हठयोगेन पातञ्जलोक्तेन प्रसिद्धेनाष्टाङ्गयोगेन).

How far this explanation given by Vidyāraṇya, who was born after nearly six hundred years after Śaṅkarācārya, could be historical is difficult to say. Yet the fact that until 1350 A.D. Patañjali's *Aṣṭāṅgayoga* was called *Haṭhayoga* becomes clear. It would be proper to conclude on the basis of the treatises of Ādya Śaṅkarācārya that the words *Haṭhayoga* and *Rājayoga* were in use during that period but their specific meanings were not determined then.

There is a notion that the use of the terms *Haṭhayoga—Rājayoga* is profusely seen in the literature of Nātha cult. To decide the validity of this let us consider the literature of Nātha cult. Not much literature is available of Ādinatha the propounder of this cult. But many texts and some of them published —are attributed to Gorakṣanātha, the disciple of Matsyendranātha. Therefore, it would be worth-while to study his texts with a view to find the references of

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[6] तत्प्राप्तिसाधने योगः कर्म च श्रुतिचोदितम् ।—अहिर्बुध्न्य. ३१.११.
अष्टाङ्ग एष कथितो येनात्मा दृश्यतां गतः ।
यमश्च नियमश्चैव— — ——समाधिश्चाप्यङ्गान्येतानि ॥—अहिर्बुध्न्य. ३१.१५-१७.

Haṭha or *Haṭhayoga*. It is worth noting that *Gorakṣa-Śatakā* by Gorakṣa does not contain the word *Haṭhayoga* or *Rājayoga*. In *Gorakṣa-Śataka* are stated only six *aṅga*s from *Āsana* to *Samādhi*. Gorakṣa calls them '*Yogāṅga*s' and not '*Haṭhayogāṅga*s'. In his another text called '*Siddhasidhāntapaddhati*' two more *aṅgas*, namely, *Yama* and *Niyama* have been prefixed to the above-mentioned six *aṅgas* and *Aṣṭāṅgayoga* is narrated.

In the *Siddhasiddhāutapaddhati* (1.69), '*ucthvāsa*' (inhalation) is symbolically stated as *sakāra* and *niḥśvāsa* (exhalation) as *hakāra* from which we get the genesis of '*Haṁsa*' mantra. No relation of the term *Haṭha* is seen here. Therefore, the verse '*Hakārah kirtitaḥ sūryaḥ ṭhakāraścandra uchyate*' found in the same text seems to be irrelevent. But since it is found in the text edited by Yogīndra Pūrṇanātha, it may be stated that the term *Haṭha* came into use for respiration or *Prāṇāyāma* at the time of Gorakṣa. It does not seem to have been used as a separate type of *Yoga* in Gorakṣa literature. The use of *Haṭhayoga* and *Rājayoga* may be apparently seen in '*Yogabīja*' of Gorakṣa. They are not described there as two different types of *Yoga*, but representing second and fourth stages respectively, of *Mahāyoga*. The following verse will make this point clear :

मन्त्रो हठो लयो राजा योगान्तर्भूमिकाः क्रमात् ।
एक एव चतुर्धायं महायोगोऽभिधीयते ॥—योगबीज, १४३-१४४.

In this verse four stages of *Mahāycga*, namely, *Mantrayoga*, *Haṭhayoga*, *Layayoga* and *Rājayoga* have been mentioned and the meanings of *Haṭha* as *Prāṇāyāma* and *Rājā* or *Rājayoga* as *Samadhi* are clearly stated. In short, although, Gorakṣa has used the terms *Haṭha* and *Rāja*, he has not stated these two as different types of *Yoga*. The derivation of *Haṭha* has been attempted here for the first time by explaining '*Ha*' as '*Prāṇa*' or Sun and '*ṭha*' as '*Apāna*' or Moon which is mentionad in the following verse;

हकारेण तु सूर्योऽसौ ठकारेणेन्दुरुच्यते ।
सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्योगाद् हठयोगोऽभिधीयते ॥—योगबीज, १४८.

This attempt, of course, does not have any traditional basis. But the use of the word '*Haṭha*' for *Prāṇāyāma* came in vogue and it is evident that this derivation is related to that. Further we get another interpretation of the word '*Haṭha*' as follows :

हकारः शंकरः प्रोक्तः ठकारः शक्तिरीश्वरी ।
उभयोर्मीलनं यस्मिन् हठयोगो निगद्यते ॥—योगमार्गप्रकाशिका –१३७.

Obviously, this derivation is tainted with the false adherence to the tradition.

In the '*Amaraughaprabodha*' (4) by Gorakṣa we get the following verse :

यश्चित्तसंततलयः स लयः प्रदिष्टः ।
यस्तु प्रभञ्जनविधानरतो हठः सः ॥

यो मन्त्रमूर्तिवशगः स तु मन्त्रयोगः।
यश्चित्तवृत्तिरहितः स तु राजयोगः।'—अमरौघप्रबोध–४.

Here *Laya*, *Haṭha*, *Mantra* and *Rājayoga* have been clearly defined. However, these are not different paths but different aspects of one *Yoga*. With this background, if we look to these four aspects, we shall realise that the descriptions in *Amaraughaprabodha* and *Yogabīja* are based on the same point of view.

Clear Stand of Svātmārāma :

The view point of the Gorakṣa liternature has been explained in clear terms in the *Haṭhapradīpikā* by Svātmārāma. In the first two verses of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* it has been explicitly mentioned that *Haṭhayoga* or *Haṭhavidyā* has been propounded only for *Rājayoga*. The term *Rājayoga* used here only means *Samādhi*. In *H.P.* IV-3, 4, fourteen synonyms of *Samādhi* are given, out of which the first synonym is *Rajayoga*.

The curriculum of *Haṭha* consisting of *Āsana*, *Prāṇāyāma*, *Mudrā* and *Nādānusandhāna* has been clearly mentioned in the *H.P.* I-56. It is worth noting that Svātmārāma has included *Nādānusandhāna* in the Haṭhayogic curriculum. *Āsana*s denote bodily actions, *Prāṇāyāma* and *Mudrā*s explain how to control the Prāṇic activities, while by *Nādānusandhāna* a control over mental processes is suggested. *Samādhi* is attained through such control of mental functions. Svātmārāma consider *Nādānusandhānā* as a very potential means for the attainment of *Samādhi* state. This indicates clearly that Svātmārāma has included mental practices also in the *Haṭhayoga* which projects its comprehensive nature. By giving a comprehensive nature of *Haṭhayoga* and stating *Rājayoga* or *Samādhi* as its fruit, Svātmārāma has firmly established that *Haṭhayoga* and *Rājayoga* are not two different Yogas.

Common Belief :

In spite of the above position the common belief is that *Haṭhayoga* includes practices of body-torture while *Rājayoga* consists of practices in which body is not troubled. This belief is firmly rooted in the minds of common people. This same belief is reflected in the dictionary meanings quoted in the beginning of this article. It has made an impact on many modern writers also. For example in the '*Tattvayogabindu*'—a manuscript deposited in the Bengal Royal Asiatic Society, 15 types of *Yoga* including *Kriyāyoga*, *Jñānayoga* etc., are mentioned. Similar mention is found in another manuscript, titled '*Rājayoga*' deposited in Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, where the following 15 varieties of *Rājayoga* have been enumerated :

Kriyāyoga, *Jñānayoga*, *Caryāyoga*, *Haṭhayoga*, *Karmayoga*, *Layayoga*, *Dhyānayoga*, *Mantrayoga*, *Lakṣyayoga*, *Vāsanāyoga*, *Śivayoga*, *Brahmayoga*, *Advaitayoga*, *Siddhayoga*, *Rājayoga*. Here '*Haṭhayoga*' is considered as a part of *Rājayoga*. This needs a further study. The meaning of *Rājayoga* explained by the author of the text is :

'राजयोगस्येदं फलं येन राजयोगेनानेक राज्यभोगसमय एव अनेकपार्थिवविनोदप्रेक्षणसमय एव बहुतरकालस्थितिर्भवति स एव राजयोगः। तस्यैते भेदः—

It has already been shown that initially *Rājayoga* was not a type of *Yoga*. Later, it not only attained the status of a type of *Yoga* but was considered by many authors as representing the comprehensive *Yoga* of which there are many subdivisions. There is a glaring example as to how common beliefs tremendously influenced these authors.

The term *Rājayoga* might have attained importance after the period of *Haṭhapradīpikā*. Before that the words *Haṭha* and *Haṭhayoga* gained currency. Imaginary derivations of the word '*Haṭha*' were put forward. Even two traditions of *Haṭhayoga* were conceived. These two traditions have been mentioned in *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* and the same verse is found quoted verbatim by modern texts like *Āgamarahasya* as follows :—

द्विधा हठः स्यादेकस्तु गोरक्षादिसुसाधितः।
अन्यो मृकण्डुपुत्राद्यैः साधितोऽनिशमुद्यतैः॥ —आगमरहस्य,

Śārṅgadharapaddhati is a collection giving quotations on various subjects and topics compiled from various sources. The significance of these quotations can be decided only on the basis of the historical and technical importance. The fact that Svātmārāma of 16th Century does not refer to this text written in the 14th century indicates that the statements about two traditions of *Haṭhayoga* might have been based on the public opinion more than any historical evidence.

Thus we conclude that *Rājayoga* is not a separate *Yoga*. *Haṭhayoga* consisting of practices like *Āsana*s and *Prāṇāyāma* etc., alone forms a separate type of *Yoga* like *Jñānayoga*, *Bhaktiyoga*, *Karmayoga*; while *Haṭha*, *Haṭhavidyā*, *Haṭhayoga* are the synonyms of the same spiritual path. It consists of four *aṅga*s namely *Āsana*, *Prāṇāyāma*, *Mudrā* and *Nādānusandhāna*, which has been elaborately described in 4 chapters of *Haṭhapradīpikā* by Svātmārāma. In the context of *Haṭhayoga—Rājayoga* we have discussed important texts on *Haṭhayoga* like *Gorakṣaśataka*, *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati* and *Haṭhapradīpikā*. We shall now consider two more texts of *Haṭhayoga* namely, *Gheraṇḍa-Saṁhitā* and *Śiva-Saṁhita*.

Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā :

In the first opening verse we get the word '*Haṭhayogavidyā*'. It seems to be interpolation. The first verse of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, with a modification of of one word is reproduced by some one. The word *Haṭha* is foreign to the *Gheraṇḍa-Saṁhitā* since it does not occur anywhere in the text. The word '*ghatasthayoga*' has been often quoted. At the end of every chapter, except the first two, the word '*ghatasthayoga*' has been used. In the seventh chapter only once we come across the quotation 'thus is the sixfold *Rājayoga*'. There the meaning of *Rājayoga* is '*Manomūrcchā*' or '*Samādhi*'. It has not been used as a separate kind of *Yoga*.

Śiva-Saṁhitā :

This consists of 5 *Paṭalas* meaning chapters. The first four chapters do not contain these two words. In the fifth chapter only once we get the words '*Haṭha*' and '*Rājayoga*'. But their meaning is not made clear. Vijñānabhikṣu, assuming the difference that *Haṭhayoga* deals with physical and pranic practices, while *Rājayoga* deals with mental processes like *dhyāna—dhāraṇā* has stated as follows :

' ज्ञानावृत्ती राजयोगे प्राणायामासने हठे । सांख्यसार, २. ६-३

This means that while *Rājayoga* involves thought processes, *Haṭha* contains practices of *Prāṇāyāma* and *Āsana*. But it does not bear any traditional support.

From the above discussion, it will be seen that control of mental processes and practices like *Āsana—Prāṇāyāma* are complimentary and are together termed as *Haṭhayoga* by Svātmārāma, and this shows proper tradition. *Rājayoga* is indicative of *Samādhi* and not a separate kind of *yoga*, would be clear.

SOME LINGUISTIC NOTES ON THE SATTASAI[1]

By

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The following observations have arisen in the course of a broader investigation into the *Sattasaī* (*SS*) and the commentaries upon it. They are not intended to be exhaustive. In using the designation '*Sattasaī*' I refer to the corpus of some thousand *Māhārāṣṭrī Prākrit gāthā*s collected by Weber in his edition of 1881.[2]

SS 15 : *de*

It is unclear what this word represents. Weber, in his index, says that there are two different forms. One is the equivalent of the genitive *te*, 'your' and thus shows dialectically anomalous voicing. Hemacandra, in his grammar,[3] defines the second as used in the sense of 'making someone face one' (*sammukhīkaraṇa*) or in addressing a female friend.

It will be useful to break down the occurrences of *de* in the *SS*. On 11 occasions which are listed in Weber's index, all except 757 occurring in the two main recensions, G and T, it is difficult to interpret *de* as anything other than a genitive. On the 12 other occasions, where it is designated as a particle by Weber, it occurs with a vocative and imperative 9 times (*SS* 16, 48, 345, 456, 466, 588, 805, 905, 948), with an imperative twice (*SS* 750, 968) and with a vocative once (*SS* 20)[4]. To emphasise the two differing functions of *de*, we find in *SS* 750, albeit a verse of the dialectically confused recension R,[5] the phrase *de pasiya* and the genitive *te*.

At *SS* 20 (where *de* occurs uniquely with only a vocative), Weber, having read in his preliminary edition of 1870[6] *desu haamajjha*, changed in his edition of 1881 to *de suhaa majjha*. Although no interpretation is given, he would presumably have followed the commentators' *chāyā*s (cited in his apparatus) in their gloss of *de* as *dehi*. An alternative version of *SS* 20, found in the form of an inscription and published by Katre,[7] gives the reading *de mūha* (*a*) *uvāsaṃ*. Here also an interpretation of *de* as some part of *dā-*, ' to give ' is the only natural possibility.

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[1] I am grateful to Mr. K. R. Norman for his help and encouragement in the writing of these notes.

[2] *Das Saptaśatakam des Hāla*, Leipzig 1881 (= *Weber*).

[3] 2.192.

[4] In *SS* 747 Weber conjectured *daie dumasu* for *de â dumasu*. cf. *de â pasia ṇiattasu* (*SS* 968).

[5] *Weber* pp. XXVIII-XXIX.

[6] *Über das Saptaśatakam des Hāla*, Leipzig, 1870.

Another example of this form occurs in the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*[8] 8.24. 13a where we find *de-dehi.* Alsdorf by his punctuation seems to regard *de* as some sort of reduplicative element of *dehi.*[9] However, Helmer Smith[10] considers that *-hi* has merely been omitted as pleonastic and he cites expressions like *cyava cyavahi* and *jaya jayahi* in comparison.

Despite the fact that *de* = *dehi* is syntactically the only real possibility in *SS* 20, it is still unclear how *de* fits into the other verses involved. Pischel[11] (para. 166) quotes a form *de* which along with *daï* is explained as an *Apabhraṃśa* absolutive i.e. *daï<dayi<dayati*, ' gives '.[12] If *de* is an absolutive (and admittedly one of unique formation in Mahārāṣṭrī, Pischel's example being taken from the late Piṅgala)[13], then *de* with imperative may be similar to the Pāli construction of absolutive with *dā* " a construction which expresses that something is done for another's sake ".[14] In Prākrit the original absolutive function of *de* may have become otiose and served merely to emphasise the imperative. However, this conjecture should not rule out the possibility of *de* = *dehi* as some sort of imperative emphasiser.

There still remains the problem of the genitive *de*. The simplest solution remains to see it as a highly unusual voicing of *te* (whether under the influence of an external dialect or not). If this still seems unsatisfactory,then it might be suggested that the form is an extraction and misunderstanding of absolutive *de* with imperative, its function with the imperative possibly being misconstrued as that of some equivalent of an " ethic " dative or genitive. However, such a misinterpretation would entail that *de* with imperative be an older construction and there appears to be no trace of it elsewhere.

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[7] *Indian Historical Quarterly* 28, 1952, p. 381.

[8] ed. Alsdorf, Hamburg, 1936.

[9] cf. Schwarzchild, *JRAS*, 1965, p. 97.

[10] *Les Deux Prosodies du Vers Bouddhique*, Lund, 1950, p. 35.

[11] *Comparative Grammar of the Prakrit Languages*, translated by S. Jha Benares, 1965 (= *Pischel*).

[12] For *daya-*, ' to give ', see *Pischel*, para, 474.

[13] The status of dialect variations in the *SS* and the relative chronology of its various recensions have yet to be investigated. Weber himself regarded the sporadic endingless forms which occur as of *Apabhraṃśa* origin. Although this need not be so, since endingless forms occur in Vedic, Ardha-Māghadhī and Pāli, it is nevertheless likely that some verses have been introduced into the recensions at a comparatively late date and that some forms occur which are not in accordance with notions of " standard " Māhārāṣṭrī as displayed in, for example, Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa*.

[14] Hendriksen, *Syntax of the Infinite Verb Forms of Pāli*, Copenhagen, 1944, p. 135.

SS 36 : *saajjiā-*, 'neighbour'

This is explained by *CDIAL*[15] 13077 as deriving from *sagṛhya-*, 'neighbouring'. *CDIAL* also quotes Prākrit *saïjjha-*, *-jhia-*, *saajjhia-*, *-ijjia-*, *saejjhia-*. The differences in vowels here may be seen as stemming from the original alternating forms **sagṛhya-ka-*and **sagehya-ka-*. However, the expected Middle Indo-Aryan development would be to forms containing an aspirate, and *saajjiā-* in *SS* 36 lacks this, Weber's apparatus giving only one insignificant variant.

I would suggest that this unaspirated form developed through contamination with *ajjā<āryā-*, 'lady'. Conversely the anomalously aspirated *ajjhā-*, 'lady' (found at *SS* 838 and 858), unconvincingly explained by Weber and *CDIAL*[16], may be interpreted as an extraction from the correct development *saajjhia-*, presumably being erroneously interpreted as if it were from a form resembling *sa-āryaka-* or *sva-āryaka*.

SS 75 : *riṃcholī-*, 'line'

This word occurs 5 times in recension G and once in T. Sheth[17] glosses it with *paṅkti-*, *śreṇī-*, while Basak[18] translates by 'flock' (*SS* 75), 'mass' (*SS* 120), 'row' (*SS* 563/Basak 562), 'swarm' (*SS* 575/Basak 574) and 'group' (*SS* 689/Basak 687). Ramanujaswami in his index to the *Deśīnāmamālā*[19] derives from *ṛkṣālī-*. There need be little doubt that *riṃcha-* is *riccha-<ṛkṣa-*, the equivalent of *vṛkṣa-*, (cf. the well-known alternation *vṛṣabha-/ṛṣabha-*).[20] But the suffix of *riṃcholī-* is much more problematic. Pischel gives the obvious mechanical explanation when he says[21] that *-olī-* is the equivalent of *āvalī-*, 'line'. However, the existence of forms such as *kaṇṇollī-*, 'beak,ear-ornament' (*DNM* 2.57), *chiṃcholī-* 'a small stream of water' (*DNM*3.27), *muṭoli-*, 'bag',[22] *müttoli-*, 'bladder',[23] *jāloli-*, (*SS* 589; Pischel para. 161 derives from *jvāla*,), *vaṇoli-* (Pischel para. 161<*vana-*),[24] *vāoli-*, (Pischel para. 161 < *vāta-*) and *paholī-* (Pischel para. 161<*prabhā-*)[25] suggests that further examination is required since it is by no means clear that a development from *āvalī-* is involved in all these forms.

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[15] Turner, *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London, 1962 (= *CDIAL*).

[16] In *ZDMG*, 1874, p. 359, Weber suggested *āryaka-*as the basis of the form *ajjhao* glossed as *prātiveśmika-*at *Deśīnāmamālā* I, 17, but rejected it because of the aspirate. On page XXX of the edition of 1881, he regards the aspirate as a phonetic peculiarity of recension T while in the index he suggests a connection with *āḍhyā-*. *CDIAL* 587 explains *ajjha-* as "a re-emphasised form of *ayam-* with doubling of *-y-*".

[17] *Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo*, Vārānasī, 1963.

[18] *The Prākrit Gāthā-Saptaśatī*, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1971.

[19] Pischel R., ed. *The Deśīnāmamālā of Hemacandra*, second edition with introduction, critical notes and glossary by P. V. Ramanujaswami, Vijayanagaram, 1938 (= *DNM*).

[20] Alsdorf, *op. cit.*, index s. v. cites *riṃcha-*, comparing it with *pakṣi-*, 'bird', but this looks like an erroneous "learned" extraction from *riṃcholī-*.

[21] Pischel R., ed. *Hemacandra's Grammatik der Prākrit Sprachen*, Vol. I, Halle, 1877, Vol. II, Halle, 1880. See note on 1. 83 (Vol. II, p. 25). Hemacandra in fact states that *-ā-* of *-ālī-*develops > -o- when the sense is 'line'.

[22] *Pāli Text Society Dictionary* s. v.

[23] *Taṃdulaveläiyasutta*, ed. Schubring, Wiesbaden, 1969, index s. v.

A simpler solution would be to see *-olī-* as an alternation of the Middle Indo-Aryan possessive suffix *-ulla-*[26] which may be equated with Sanskrit *-ūla-* found in forms such as *dantūla-*, *vātūla-* and *balūla-*.[27] This suffix [-*ūla*/*-ulla-* could alternate in Middle Indo-Aryan as -ōla-[28]/*-olla-* (cf. Pāli *piṇḍola-* and Prākrit *kaṇṇollī-*) with the feminine ending possibly added by analogy with a word like *āvalī-*.

We may now attempt to explain some of the forms ending in this suffix. *kaṇṇollī-* could mean literally 'ear-possessing' or more loosely 'ear-ed' and so 'ear-ornament',[29] *chiṃcholī-* 'splash-possessing'[30] and so 'river', *muttoli-*, 'urine-possessing' and so 'bladder', *jālolī-*, 'flame-possessing' and so 'fire.'[31] Rather more difficulty is presented by *muṭoli-*, 'bag' due to uncertainty about the form involved.[32] Mayrhofer[33] in his discussion of *mūta-*, 'basket', suggests that the forms with a retroflex show non-Aryan influence. However, it is conceivable that *muṭoli-*, 'bag, basket' may simply be an alternation of **puṭoli-*, lit. 'fold-/cavity-possessing'.[34]

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[24] *SS* 579 gives *vaṇāli-*.

[25] Pischel states that in the last four forms *-olī-* is <*āvali-*.

[26] *Pischel*, para, 595.

[27] Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik* II 2, para, 331.

[28] In the *SS* the scansion is always *-ōlī*.

[29] cf. Sanskrit *karṇikā-*. The more unusual meaning 'beak' may come from *karṇa-* in the sense of 'end, tip', for which see *CDIAL* 2830.

[30] cf. Hindi *chiṃcha-*, 'splash' which must be onomatopoeic.

[31] In the forms *vaṇoli-* and *paholi-*, the suffix seems virtually pleonastic and perhaps should not be interpreted over literally. Possibly *-olī* is somewhat similar in force to English '*-ed*'.

[32] The Pāli Text Society Dictionary gives *putoḷi-*, *mūṭoli-*, *mūtoḷi-*, *mutuli-*, *muṭoli-* and *pūtoli-*, while Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Haven 1953, in suggesting that *mūtoḍī-* is related to *muṭa-* (q.v.) lists the forms *mūṭa-*, *mūḍha-*, *moṭa-* and *moṭaka-* with the meaning of 'some sort of basket'.

[33] *Kurzgefasstes Etymologisches Worterbuch des Altindischen*, Heidelberg, 1963.

[34] *DNM* 6. 47 quotes the alternating forms *piṃcholī-* and *piṃsuli-* (as well as *pihulaṃ*), 'flute'. Schokker, *The Pādatāḍitaka of Syāmilaka*, The Hague, 1961, p. 218, states that the variant *s/ch* and *-u-/-o-* are signs of the Dravidian origins of the words. Although a *-u-/-o-* alternation is simple for Middle Indo-Aryan and *piṃch-* could derive from Sanskrit *piṃs-*, 'to shine, speak' (*Dhātupāṭha*. See Monier-Williams s.v.) via an intermediate **piṃts-* and, assuming a noun-substantative **piṃsa,-* give a possible literal sense of 'speech-/sound-possessing', nevertheless the alternation of short vowels (we would expect **piṃsūlī*/**piṃsullī-*) the problem of the form *pihulaṃ-* (see Kuiper *Indo-Iranian Journal* 10, 1967-8, p. 310) and the difficulties caused by the existence of *picchōrā-* (see Mayrhofer *op. cit.*, s.v. Kuiper, *Museum* 69, 1959,

Returning to *riṃcholi-*, we may see it as developing from the sense of 'tree-possessing'>'forest'>'density'>'crowd' or 'line'. We should, however, separate *duddolī-* (*SS* 149, glossed by *DNM* 5.43 as *drudoli-* and by Sheth as *vṛkṣapaṅktī-*) from *riṃcholī-* and other forms ending in *-olī-*. *DNM*'s interpretation is unlikely unless the geminate *-dd-* is *metri causa.*[35] The commentary given by Weber at *SS* 149 says "*durmoco graṃthir durddolī* (sic)." Monier-Williams[36] cites this reference under *durdolī-*,[37] 'a knot difficult to be undone'.[38] *doraka-* is given by Monier-Williams in the sense of 'rope, string' (cf. *ḍora-* at *SS* 211) and *dola-*, 'a particular position of the clenched fist'. It is likely that *duddoli-* developed to the idea of anything thick, dense or impenetrable.

SS 191 : *ciriḍi-*, 'alphabet'

I give the text of *SS* 191 :

ciriḍiṃ pi aāṇaṃtā loā loehi goravabbhahiā
soṇāratula vva ṇirakkarā vi khaṃdhehi vubbhaṃti

Basak translates as follows: "Like the balances of goldsmiths (which are *ṇirakṣara* i.e. which do not weigh more than one *akṣa* equal to 16 *māṣa*s), some men who are illiterate (*ṇirakṣara*) having no knowledge of the alphabets, are carried on the shoulders of people because they are treated as great in importance."

Sheth cites the form *ciriḍī-* but reads *ciraḍiṃ* in *SS* 191 which he quotes (s.v. *ciraḍī-*) explaining it as *varṇamālā-*, *akṣarāvalī-*. Basak's *chāyā* concurs with this interpretation.[39] Weber, in his note on *SS* 191, suggests a connection with Marathi *ciraṭī-* and *ciroṭi-*, 'a small piece torn from the side of a plantain leaf, a slip of land, a shred (of cloth or paper)' and *ciraḍī-*, 'a garment for a little girl',[40] and he translates *ciriḍiṃ pi aāṇaṃtā* by 'not knowing a scrap i.e.

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p. 213 gives a possible original meaning 'bamboo') suggest that these forms are unconnected with *riṃcholi-*, *kaṇṇolli-* etc.

[35] Moveable *-r-* is impossible. Dhanapāla's *Pāiyalacchīnāmamālā* (ed. Bühler, Göttingen, 1879) cites *durvālī-* and explains it as *drumālī-*.

[36] *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1964.

[37] s.v. *dur-* p. 485.

[38] Basak translates *pemmaduddolī* of *SS* 149 by 'the ties of love'.

[39] Some of the commentators on *SS* 191 cited by Weber state that *ciriḍimpi* (sic) is a *deśī* word for the Buddhist and Jain expression of greeting '*siddhir astu*' (*Weber*, pp. XIX-XX). This odd judgement may be clarified somewhat by a variant given in the edition of Durgāprasād and Panashikar (Bombay, 1911) viz. a *viṇaiṃ* <*vinatiṃ*. (Their text reading is *ciraḍiṃ*). The commentator Kulabāladeva states that *viṇati-* is an expression of good luck conveying an idea such as '*siddhir astu*'. It is possible that some of the redactors have kept the reading *ciriḍiṃ* or a form based on it and, unaware of its meaning, adopted the gloss for *viṇaiṃ*.

[40] *CDIAL* 4843 cites under headword *cīra-*, 'strip (of bark or cloth), *cīrikā-*, 'announcement on a strip of paper', Marathi *cīr*, 'clothes', *cirā-*, 'strip of cloth' and *cirī-*, 'strip of plantain-leaf'.

nothing'. This explanation gives perfectly adequate sense and it is possible that the gloss 'alphabet' is a misinterpretation.

Nevertheless it is interesting that a similar idea to *SS* 191 is expressed in Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī* I 20. 13-14:[41] *jado tumaṃ ṇārāo via ṇirakkharo vi radaṇatulāe ṇiuṃjīasi, ahaṃ uṇa tulā via laddhakkharā vi ṇa suvaṇatulaṇe ṇiuṃjīāmi*".[42] Irrespective of how one interprets *ṇārāo vi ṇirakkharo*,[43] it is clear that there is a pun on *ṇirakkharo* in the sense of 'unlettered' in both the *Karpūramañjarī* passage and in *SS* 191. As a consequence, the commentators may have felt that, because of this pun, *ciriḍiṃ* had a rather more pointed meaning than the one allotted it by Weber and so they concocted a fanciful gloss 'alphabet'.

However, it is conceivable that this interpretation had some linguistic justification.[44] Monier-Williams gives no help ,citing *caraṭa-*, 'a wagtail' and *caraṃṭī-*, *ciraṭī-*, *ciraṇṭī-*, 'a woman married or single who afterwards resides in her father's house'. Bhayani[45] claims that the form *ciraḍi-/ciriḍi-* should be read as *viraḍi-/viriḍi-* as shown by Gujarati *varḍi-/varḍu-*, 'the post-consonanted vowel sign for short or long *u*.' The reading *viriḍim* does in fact occur in *SS* 191 but only in recension R and, as Weber[46] has identified the orthography of this recension with Jain scribes from Gujarat, it is possibly only a localised reading.

As Indo-Aryan seems to throw no light upon the particular meaning in question, it may be helpful to consider Tamil *caraṭu-*, 'twisted thread, cord, twine, row'.[47] A development to *ciriḍi-* would come via palatalisation and assimilation of vowels and voicing of *-ṭ->-ḍ-*. A semantic development to 'row of *letters*' would be fairly acceptable and we might compare the evolution in meaning of *sūtra-*.

SS 243: *chajjai*, 'is beautiful'

CDIAL 4982 derives from **chadyati*, 'seems good'. Perhaps we should rather see a development **chayyati<*chāyati*, a denominative from *chāyā-*,

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[41] Ed. Konow, with translation by Lanman, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. IV ,p. 18.

[42] Lanman (*ibid.*), p. 232, translates: "For you, though unlettered as the iron beam of a goldsmith's balance, are employed as part of a (still finer) balance for weighing jewels; while I, though lettered like a (common) balance, am not employed in the weighing of gold."

[43] Lanman (*ibid.* p. 232, note 3) says that a goldsmith's weights were unmarked by letters, while Basak interprets the comparable phrase in *SS* 191 *sonāratula vva ṇirakkharā* as meaning a goldsmith's weight which weighs "not more that one *akṣa* equal to 16 *māṣas*".

[44] Sanskrit *cira-*, 'a manner of writing with strokes' (Apte, *Sanskrit-English* Dictionary) presumably stems from the basic meaning of *cira-*, *viz.*, 'strip of bark'.

[45] *Studies in Hemacandra's Deśīnāmamālā*, Vārānasī, 1966, p. 15.

[46] p. XXIX.

[47] Burrow and Emeneau, *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford, 1961, para 1947.

'beauty'. Compare *vicchāaṃto*<*vicchā(y)a*, 'to make pale, outshine' at *Karpūramañjarī* II 30.[48]

SS 301 : *cheṃchaī-*, 'loose woman'

Compare with this form *chiṃchaī* at *SS* 350 showing *-ī-/-ĕ-* alternation. The glosses given by Sheth are *asatī-*, *kulaṭā-*.

Several solutions, albeit awkward, suggest themselves. For example, *CDIAL* 5029 cites *chi-*, 'blame'[49] and Prākrit *chi-chi-*, 'interjection of disapproval'. Weber suggests the possibility of a connection with these, presumably taking the *anusvāra* in *chiṃchaī-* as a nasal infix, giving a sense like 'blameworthy'. *CDIAL* 5034 connects **chicchara-* with *chittvara-*<*chid-*. However, such a palatalisation is impossible.[50] As the manuscript readings given in Weber's apparatus are, with one insignificant exception, unanimous about the aspiration, we should discard any attempt to derive from Kannada *cañca-*, *cañcu-*, 'a man of a wild tribe that resides in the forest, a *Śabara*' and Telugu *ceñcu-*, 'a certain savage tribe'.[51]

A much less problematic explanation is available, namely a derivation from *śikṣ-*. The development *ś->ch-* can easily be paralleled by e.g. *ṣaṣ->cha-*, *śepyā->cheppā-*, while *-kṣ->cch-* can be seen in, for example, *bhikṣa->bhiccha-*.[52]

We may therefore see the masculine form *chiṃcha-* developing through **chicchaa-*<*śikṣaka-*, 'teaching, instructing, a teacher', (Monier-Williams). The basic idea of *chiṃchaī-/cheṃchaī-* would then be 'instructress' or 'experienced woman', developing to the idea of 'one experienced in love' and then to the pejorative sense of 'loose woman' or 'adultress.'[53]

SS 713 : *ettī mattammi thavā puttīmattammilaaṇā bhattī*
agaïa avatthāe diahāiṃ bhittaraṃ tarai

Weber remarked : "Was hiermit zu machen, ist mir unklar." Although aware that Weber may have hesitated to translate due to uncertainty about the text,[54] I believe it possible to derive sense from the verse as it stands.

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[48] *op. cit.*, index s.v.

[49] cf. *chi-* at *SS* 605.

[50] See Schwarzchild *JAOS* 76, 1956 pp. 11-15 and Norman, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 2, 1958, pp. 111-3. It is highly unlikely that *checchaṃ*, the future of *chid-* (*Pischel* para 532) is connected with *cheṃchaī-*.

[51] Burrow and Emeneau, *op. cit.*, para 1889. Fürer-Haimendorff, *The Aboriginal Tribes of Hyderabad, Vol.* 1, *The Chemchus*, London, 1943, uses old-fashioned transliteration.

[52] For an examination of the latter development, see Berger, *Zwei Probleme der Mittelindischen Lautlehre*, Munich, 1955, pp. 74-87.

[53] cf. *chiṃchaya-* glossed at *DNM* 3.36 by *jāra-*, 'paramour'. However, I cannot explain the other glosses *deha-*, 'body' and *śalāṭuphalam*, 'unripe fruit'.

[54] One syllable is missing in the first line. Possibly the reading in the second *pāda* should be *k(ā)aṇā*.

etti<*iyattaka-*, 'so little' (*iyant-*, 'so much') with *e-*<*eṣa-* (*CDIAL* 1589).

thavā<*stava-*. Unattested in the feminine in Monier-Williams.

laaṇā. Presumably<*lag-* or *lī-*, although *lagana-* and *layana-* are unattested in the feminine in Monier-Williams.

bhittaraṃ<*abhyantara*.[55]

The following is a tentative translation. "Such praise of one who is intoxicated, such affection for one who is crazy about (other) young girls is the (sort of) devotion (which) gets one through the days in the harem[56] (*bhittaraṃ* adverbial) when in a state of unhappiness."[57]

A typical commentator on the *SS* would explain the verse thus. A woman, speaking sarcastically to another woman who is resigned to her bad marriage (or who is devoted to her faithless husband), suggests to her that she takes a lover.

SS 755 : *ḍhaṃkhara-*, 'bare branch'

For this word in the sense of 'branch without leaves' see *CDIAL* 5525 para 9. Weber has punctuated verse 755 wrongly and consequently mistranslated. *ḍhaṃkharaseso* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound agreeing with *mālaīviḍavo*, so the comma after *mukko* should be deleted. For confirmation of this see the correct interpretation given by Patwardhan for *Vajjālagga* 251.[58]

SS 771 : *aṇahoraṇa-*, 'without clothing'

For the negative prefix *aṇa-* see Pischel para 77. The form *horaṇa-*, glossed at *DNM* 8.72 by *vastra-* is connected by Weber with Marathi *horaṇem* 'to cover' and he adds Molesworth's tentative derivation from *āvaraṇa-*. A mechanical derivation could possibly be made from *bharaṇa-* with labialisation of *-a-*>*-o-*, but the sense would be 'the act of wearing' rather than 'the thing worn'.

A solution may be to see a connection with Khotanese *hurā-*, 'belt, scarf'.[59] Bailey[60] suggests with this may be a transfer from *hurā-*, 'thigh' connected with Old Indian *ūru-*, with prothetic *h-*.[60] If Prākrit *horaṇa-* is derived from this with the addition of the suffix *-aṇa-*, then we may either see its meaning as 'girdle' or developing from something of this nature to 'clothes'.

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[55] Norman, *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, 25, 1976, p. 331.

[56] Or possibly: '(cooped up) inside'.

[57] Or possibly: 'in a state where one's husband does not approach for intercourse'. cf. Monier-Williams, s.v. *agati-*, 'not cohabiting with a woman'.

[58] Jayavallabha's *Vajjālaggam*, Ahmedabad, 1969, p. 305.

[59] Bailey, *Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta*, Cambridge, 1967, p. 423.

[60] *Ibid*.

SS 774 : *oa-*, 'home'

In explaining the phrase *oasaraṇassa pahiyassa*, Weber is very dubious about a derivation of *oa-* from *apagata-*, but gives no other suggestion. *apagata-* is theoretically possible but would involve a violent contraction. A derivation from *okas-*, 'house' seems more likely. In the compound *oasaraṇassa*, the second member could be either from *śaraṇa-* or *smaraṇa-*, and would mean '...... whose refuge is his home' or '...... who remembers his home'.

SS 814 : *pattha-*, 'measure of weight'

Weber in his apparatus gives a gloss deriving *pattha-* from *pathya-*, 'a wholesome diet' and states that a development to *paccha-* would be expected. However, there is a perfectly acceptable word *prastha-*, 'a measure of weight or capacity'[61] which would fit both the form and the sense.

SS 821 : *ṇa āmi<na yāmi*

Elision of single initial consonants is extremely rare. If the reading is correct, then the dropping of *y* would occur by analogy with *ṇa āṇāmi>na jānāmi*[62]. Compare also *Gāndhārī Dharmapada*[63] verse I: *na yaca bhodi bramaṇo* where *na yaca* is the equivalent of Pāli *na jaccā, y-* being an intervocative glide.[64]

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[61] *CDIAL* 8869. cf. also *Pāli Text Society Dictionary*, s.v. *pattha-*.

[62] *Pischel* para 184.

[63] ed. Brough, London, 1962.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

HISTORY OF VAIṢṆAVISM AND KṚṢṆA CULT IN KASHMIR

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A study of the various texts, notably the *Nîlamatapurâṇa*, the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, *Śrîkaṇṭhacarita*, and the *Māhâtmyas* of the various *tîrthas* in the Valley of Kashmir, the works of Kaiyyaṭācārya, Mammaṭācārya, Abhinavagupta and other writers and philosophers, leaves one in no doubt as to the religious leanings of the population of Kashmir in olden times being predominantly towards Śaivism.

The very name of the primeval lake which filled the Valley before its waters were drained by Ṛṣi Kaśyapa was ' Satîsaras ' or the Lake of Satî.[1] This legend is repeated in various forms including the Buddhist versions relating to the introduction of Buddhism into the Valley.

However, Vaiṣṇavism or the worship of Viṣṇu and His ten *Avatāras*, flourished side by side with Śaivism. If we have Satîsaras as the name of the lake which filled the Valley, we have also geographical names—some of them still extant—of mountain lakes and peaks in and surrounding Kashmir which betray Vaiṣṇava influence in early Kashmir. For instance, the most beautiful and extensive mountain lake in the Pirpanjal range is still known as Viṣṇupad. Small lakelets are known as Viṣṇasar, Rāmārâdhan, Kṛṣṇasara, and so on.

Vaiṣṇava References in Old Texts :

The earliest known text, the *Nîlamatapurâṇa*, carries several passages referring to various episodes in the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Râmâyaṇa*, the two most important works of Vaiṣṇava traditions. It gives a lengthy account of the legend relating to Satîsaras and the demon Jalodbhava who had made it his habitation, the desiccation of the lake by the gods at the prayer of Kaśyapa and the demon's destruction. In representing Viṣṇu and Śiva as the leaders of gods who assisted Kaśyapa in the defeat of Jalodbhava, the *Nîlamatapurâṇa*[2] indirectly shows the influence of Viṣṇu worship in ancient Kashmir.

Another name given to Kashmir is *Śâradâpīṭha* or the abode of Śâradâ—the Godess of Learning.[3] Evidently She is synonimous with Saraswatî, the consort of Viṣṇu.

Nîlamatapurâṇa mentions Cakradhara in the first place among the *tîrthas* of Kashmir and gives a fragmentary account of the legend connected with the ancient Viṣṇu Cakradhara shrine near Bijbihâra (30 miles to the south of Śrīnagar).[4] The plateau bears to this day the name of Tsakdhar.[5]

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[1] *Râj.* i-25.

[2] *Report.* pp. 38 sqq.

[3] *Râj.* i-35-37.

Apart from Kalhaṇa, this ancient shrine is mentioned by *Râjânaka* Jayadratha in his *Haracaritacintâmaṇī*.[6] The *Nīlamatapurâṇa* mentions yet another name of Viṣṇu as Yogaśâyin.[7]

Various legends often alluded to in the *Nīlamatapurâṇa* and the *Mâhâtmyâs*, connect the ancient *tīrtha* of Viṣṇu-Âdivarâha situated at Varâhamūla, modern Bârāmūla, 30 miles to the north-west of Śrīnagar, with the Varâha or Boar Incarnation of Viṣṇu.[8]

Reference to *Mahâbhârata* and Kṛṣṇa is made by Kalhaṇa right from the beginning of his *Râjataraṅgiṇī*. He begins the Chronicle with an account of Gonanda I, whose initial year of reign he places in 6_3 Kali, the traditional date of the coronation of King Yudhiṣṭhira. He then tells us of his fight with Jarāsandha who killed him, and concludes with the latter's death at the hands of Lord Kṛṣṇa who bestows the kingdom of Kashmir on his wife, Yaśovatī.[9]

Vaiṣṇava Foundations :

Vaiṣṇava cult received a further impetus when the Valley came into direct contact with the kingdom of Vikramâditya, the predecessor of Śilâditya during the first half of the 6th century A.D. The king deputed a pious poet, Mâtṛgupta, to be his Viceroy of Kashmir. Mâtṛgupta who was an ardent *Vaiṣṇava*, prohibited the slaughter of animals and birds for sacrifice and food throughout the kingdom.[10] He built a shrine of Viṣṇu Madhusūdana naming it Mâtṛguptasvâmin.[11]

Kalhaṇa records the consecration of the image of Viṣṇu Jayasvâmin by Pravarsena II, the founder of the city of Śrīnagar. Actually he wanted to consecrate the temple as a Śiva shrine, but miraculously the image of Viṣṇu appeared and seated itself on the pedestal. The king named the temple Jayasvâmin after the name of the architect.[12]

This episode shows that the followers of the *Vaiṣṇava* cult had become sizeably strong to force even the king to put up Viṣṇu temples along with those of Śiva.

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[4] *Nīl*. 1170, vv. 189 sqq.

[5] *Rāj*. i-38.

[6] *Rāj*. viii-61 sq.

[7] *Nīl*. 1138.

[8] *Report*. pp. 11 sqq.

[9] *Rāj*. i-48-52.

[10] *Rāj*. iii-256.

[11] *Rāj*. iii-263.

[12] *Rāj*. iii-350-51.

A similar story is narrated by Kalhaṇa in the case of the consecration of a Śiva temple by a later king Raṇāditya, whose queen Raṇārambhā seems to have been an ardent *Vaiṣṇava* and with her influence and prayers the Śiva temple got consecrated as a Viṣṇu shrine by the 'miraculous' appearance of a Viṣṇu image.[13]

This particular temple appears to have enjoyed great celebrity. Jayantabhaṭṭa in his *Āgamaḍambara* makes a mention of it and Kalhaṇa refers to a visit paid to Raṇasvāmin by king Cakravarman's queen.[14] In *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, Maṅkha, Kalhaṇa's contemporary, refers to his father's worship of Raṇasvâmin.[15] Jonarāja in his commentary distinctly describes the latter as being the premier temple in Kashmir. He mentions it as *Śrīpravarapura-pradhânapîṭha.*

Raṇāditya and his queen Raṇārambhā founded two Viṣṇu temples known as Raṇārambhadeva and Raṇārambhasvâmin on the hill known as Pradyumnapîṭha, now known as Hari Parvat on which is situated the shrine of Goddess Śārikā.[16]

Under the rule of the *Karkoṭa* dynasty—8th century A.D. onwards Kashmir received a fresh influx of religious and cultural influences from the rest of India. This was, no doubt, as a result of Lalitāditya and his successors' expeditions to central and western India. No wonder Vaiṣṇavism received not only royal patronage but became popular among the people. Durlabhaka-Pratâpāditya II (*circa* 700 A.D.) consecrated the shrine of Durlabhakasvâmin.[17] His grandson Candrapîḍa built the temple of Viṣṇu Tribhuvanasvâmin. His Guru Mihiradutt, who seems to have been an ardent *Vaiṣṇava,* built the temple of Viṣṇu Gambhirasvâmin at the confluence of the Vitastâ and Vishau rivers, 30 miles south of Śrīnagar. His minister Calitaka also built a temple named Viṣṇu Calitasvâmi[18].

It was, however, Lalitâditya who, besides building the famous temple of Mârtaṇḍa, consecrated equally beautiful and monumental temples dedicated to Goverdhanadhâra with a silver image of the god. Kṛṣṇa bears the epithet of Goverdhanadhâra because he held mount Goverdhana as a shelter over the cows threatened by Indra with a storm. In the compound of the temple Lalitâditya built a tall stone pillar, fifty-four hands high over which was raised a standard carrying a representation of Garuḍa the bird of "the enemy of *Daityas* (Viṣṇu)".[19]

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[13] *Rāj.* iii-453-54.
[14] *Rāj.* v-394.
[15] *Śrī.* iii-68
[16] *Rāj.* iii-460-62.
[17] *Rāj.* iv-6.
[18] *Rāj.* iv-80-81.
[19] *Rāj.* iv-198-99.

Lalitāditya built the shrine of Kes'ava Viṣṇu in the early part of his reign. He built Viṣṇu temples at Huṣkapura (modern Hurapura) and Lokapuṇya (modern Lokabhavana).[20] In the former he installed a gold statue of Viṣṇu. Another grand temple with the image of the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu was erected in the same city.

Once the king went to a desert area to break his untrained horses when he noticed two beautiful damsels singing and dancing at a particular spot. When questioned, they said they had been advised by their parents to worship at that spot because it was the site of a holy temple destoryed long ago. Lalitāditya had the place dug up and two beautiful statues of Viṣṇu were unearthed. These he installed in two temples in his new city of Parihâsapura, very near that of the earlier temple of Parihâsakeśava.[21]

Lalitāditya's zeal for the foundation of Viṣṇu temples, shrines and statues was perhaps resposible for similar pious foundations by his queens, ministers and courtiers. Some of the later *Karkoṭa* kings also patronized Vaiṣṇavism. Jayāpīḍa, for instance, built a few shrines in his city of Jayapura[22] and his minister Amṛtaprabha built a temple of Amṛtakes'ava in memory of his dead son. Many *Vaiṣṇava* foundations were made during the reign of Ajitâpîḍa.[23]

It was, however, during the reign of the *Utpala* dynasty that Vaiṣṇavism had come to occupy a high position among the various religious cults in Kashmir. The close political and cultural ties with the rest of India, brought about as a result of the *Karkoṭa* expeditions, subjected Kashmir to *Vaiṣṇava* teachings and rituals on a mass scale. No wonder we witness the foundation of numerous shrines and temples of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa in and after this period. Avantivarman prohibited the killing of all living creatures for ten years, just as it was done by Mâtṛgupta earlier.[24]

Fusion of the two Cults :

Professing Śaivism in public—no doubt to please his *Śaiva* subjects, Avantivarman was at heart a *Vaiṣṇava*. This fact he confessed to his Minister, Sura, when he lay at his deathbed at the shrine of Jyeṣṭhes'vara. "Having there become certain of his near death", records Kalhaṇa, "he disclosed to Sura, at the end of his life and with folded hands, his attachment to the worship of Viṣṇu which he had long hidden". Listening to the end the "recital of the *Bhagwadgitā* and thinking of the residence of Viṣṇu (Vaikuṇṭha) he cast off this earthly life with a cheerful mind." (A.D. 883).[25]

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[20] *Rāj.* iv-188.

[21] *Rāj.* iv-265.

[22] *Rāj.* iv-508

[23] *Rāj.* iv-695-700.

[24] *Rāj.* v-64.

[25] *Rāj.* v-123-25.

Another institution that we come across is the Gokula founded by the king and his ministers. Avantivarman's chief minister is recorded to have founded the temple of Suravarmansvâmin and a Gokula.[26] The name Gokula, which judging from later references in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, must have been the general designation for a certain class of religious edifices, is clearly connected with the residence of the young Kṛṣṇa in the Brindaban forest. From *Raj.* vii-2437, it appears that the Gokulas were provided with grazing grounds reserved for cows.

Avantivarman built the famous city of Avantipura where he consecrated the temple of Avantisvâmin.[27] Another official, named Mahodaya, built the temple of Mahodayasvâmin.[28] The illustrious Suya, Avantivarman's gifted engineer, seems to have been a *Vaiṣṇava.* After draining the waters of the Vitastā by clearing its bed near Baramula of rocks and thereby reclaiming large tracts of land in the Valley, he founded the town of Suyyapur (modern Sopore) and built several Viṣṇu temples, notably the one named Hṛṣike'sa Yogaśâyin (Viṣṇu merged in mental abstraction) at the new confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu.[29] He also prohibited fishing and hunting in the Wular lake.

The popularity of Vaiṣṇavism in this period is further attested to by the discovery of several 8th century sculptures depicting Viṣṇu in His different *Avatāras* throughout the lenght and breadth of the Valley, particularly at Verinag Mârtaṇḍ, Avantipura, Bàramula and Andarkot. Some of these are preserved in the Śri Pratap Singh Museum in Śrīnagar and quite a few are still worshipped in temples, notably the ones at Khrew and at the Batayar Mohalla of Śrīnagar.

From the tenth century A.D. to the end of the Hindu rule in the fourteenth, we find several kings and queens founding temples and shrines. Though the kingdom was reduced to its lowest depths of misery due to instable rule and constant civil war, we still learn of the building of *Vaiṣṇava* temples by queen Sugandhā, king Pârtha, Yaśaskara and Kṣemagupta.[30] Queen Diddā erected the temple of Siṃhasvâmin in honour of her father Siṃharâja in Poonch.[31]

The iconoclast Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) destroyed a number of temples of all sects and melted their copper, brass, silver and gold images to replenish his empty treasury,[32] but after his death we find that Uccala (A.D. 1101-11), his successor, made some amends by restoration of old and building of new *Vaiṣṇav-*

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[26] *Rāj.* v-23.
[27] *Rāj.* v-45.
[28] *Rāj.* v-28-29.
[29] *Rāj.* v-99-100.
[30] *Rāj.* vi-169
[31] *Rāj.* vi-304.
[32] *Rāj.* vii-1344.

temples. He put in order the famous sites of the temples of Cakradhara and Yogeśa. The illustrious image of Viṣṇu Parihâsakeśava which king Harṣa had carried off was put afresh by the king at Parihâsapura.[33]

Even after the death of Uccala, Vaiṣṇavism seems to have been popular, as we learn of the building of Gokulas by Ratnâvali, the queen of Jayasiṃha and also by several of his courtiers.[34]

By the middle of the 12th century A.D. there appears to have come about a reconciliation between the *Śaiva* and *Vaiṣṇava* cults in Kashmir. Kalhaṇa records that in his own time banners and parasols glittered over the Kṛṣṇa temple built earlier by Rilhaṇa. Also the temple of Sureśvarī, the most popular shrine of his time, "imparts a knowledge of the close friendship between the Vanquisher of Love (Śiva) and the god whose ensign is the bird (Viṣṇu)."[35]

With the advent of Islam during the 14th century, every Hindu sect suffered a set-back. However, in Kashmir Sanskrit remained the court language for over two hundred years after the ascension of the first Muslim king to the throne. Naturally the Brahmins retained their ascendency and a number of texts on Vaiṣṇavism and Kṛṣṇa lore were produced in this period. The Hindu reformers or the followers of Bhakti cult gave an impetus to Vaiṣṇavism. The *Bhāgawat Purāṇa* and *Daśāvatâracarita*, the *Mahâbhârata*, the *Bhagawadgītā* became special objects of study. Most of the manuscripts on birchbark or newly introduced paper, some of them profusely illustrated, are still extant and form prized possession of private collectors and museums in India and abroad.

Earlier Vaiṣṇavism received further nourishment from the visit to Kashmir of Rāmānuja (11th century A.D.), the leader of the *Vaiṣṇava* creed. He travelled all the way from Madras to Kashmir to combat Śaivism at its fountain-head.[36]

Kashmir Recensions of Vaiṣṇava texts :

A notable feature of Sanskrit learning in Kashmir was the special study of the epics *Mahâbhârata* and *Râmâyaṇa* by writers, poets, philosophers and religious leaders. To Kalhaṇa, for instance, we must ascribe a very intimate knowledge of the *Mahâbhârata*. Whenever he desires to illustrate his judgement, he turns to this vast storehouse of traditional lore. His allusions are often made to little-known episodes and obscure incidents. The trouble which their identification frequently costs, enables us to judge of the labours Kalhaṇa must have devoted to the thorough mastery of the gigantic Epic.[37] He seems to have been equally well acquainted with the *Râmâyaṇa* though his quotations from it are less numerous.[38]

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[33] *Rāj.* viii-78-80.

[34] *Rāj.* viii-2436.

[35] *Rāj.* viii-3368-70.

[36] Temple, *The Word of Lalla.*

[37] *Rāj.* For Kalhaṇa's references to *Mahâbhārata* compare: i-119 sq; ii-94 sqq; iii-276; iv-76, 103, 521, 600, 626, 641; vii-510, 585, 804, 1168, 1365, 1476, 1718; viii-335, 469, 670, 992,

This deep study of the Epics perhaps resulted in the production of their special and exclusive recensions considered now the most authentic and pure versions of the texts. The Kashmir recension of the *Mahâbhârata* discovered by Professor Bühler in 1885 was exhaustively made use of by the late Dr. Sukthankar who revealed the importance of that recension to Indologists in the February 1921 issue of the "*Vividhajñānavistara*" (Bombay), where the extent of the *Ādi Parva* is quoted to bring home the conclusion that much reliance cannot be placed upon the current text of the *Parva Saṃgraha* figures of *Adyāya*s and *Śloka*s.[39]

The Kashmir manuscript of the *Bhāgawatapurāṇa* written on birch-bark and now preserved in the Goettingen Museum Library in Germany is considered to be the oldest and most authoritative version of this sacred book of *Vaiṣṇava* religious tradition. It was the first work of Purāṇic literature to be translated into a European language namely French, by Eugene Burnouf in 1840-47. The Kashmir manuscript dated by German scholars as belonging to the 14th century A.D. is considered as an authentic text. Its importance lies in the fact that it retains the purity of ancient *Śloka*s. Texts emanating from centres like Banaras are prone to having the imprint of later schools of Vaiṣṇavism.[40]

Similarly with regard to the *Bhagawadgîtâ* many Kashmiri paṇḍits like Keśava, Vasugupta, Ānandavardhana, Rāmakaṇṭha, Bhâskara, Abhinavagupta and a number of others wrote commentaries on it. The earliest of the known Kashmiri commentaries on this sacred book, is that of Vasugupta, the founder of Kashmir Śaivism. This commentary called *Vasvi-tîkâ* is not extant. Only the first six chapters are perhaps still to be found incorporated in another *tîkâ* on the *Bhagawadgītā* called *Lāsakī* by *Rājānaka* Lasakāka of which manuscripts are extant. The second of the known commentaries is by Ānandavardhana. Next comes Râmakaṇṭha's commentary called *Sarvatobhadra* which is a very extensive work. Besides these, Bhâskara is referred to by Abhinavagupta as having commented upon the *Gîtâ*. Abhinavagupta himself is the author of still another commentary which has been before modern scholars since 1912.

It was in 1930 that Dr. Schrader published a paper on the Kashmirian recension of the *Gîtâ*, which evoked considerable interest among scholars. Al-

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1093, 1199, 1289, 1355, 2025, 2122, 2170, 2256, 2280, 2305 sq, 2336, 2789, 2811, 2848, 2911 sq., 2948, 2977, 3449. Several of these passages contain allusions to more than one story of the *Mahābhārata*.

[38] *Rāj*. See iii-86; iv-67, 107; vi-226; vii-1202; viii-335, 1355, 1591, 1808 sq., 2382, 2976, 3159, 3449.

[39] *Hist*. pp. 277.

[40] *Hindustan Times*, Nov. 9, 1976.

most all Kashmiri writers prior to the 12th century refer to a text of the *Gîtâ* which differs in its text from the vulgate adopted by Śaṃkarācârya and later non-Kashmiri writers. The most important of such variations are the addition of certain verses and the ommission of a few others. This has given rise to a controversy which, in the words of Kunhan Raja, " has assumed in the region of Indological studies an importance too big in dimension to be ignored by any serious student."[41]

When Persian became the court language from the 15th century onwards, the Brahmins of Kashmir who continued to occupy the administrative posts under the Muslim, Sikh and Dogra rulers, made a special study of the language. They became so adept in this language that they composed sacred hymns and prayers in Persian too, and translated many religious texts into Persian. Among these the most popular was the translation of the *Daśamaskandha* of *Bhāgawata-purāṇa* into Persian verse by *Paṇḍit* Gopal Kaul (middle of the 18th century). The language is so simple and sweet that till recent times selected verses from this masterpiece were on the lips of every Persian knowing *Paṇḍit*.[42]

The popularity of Vaiṣṇavism can also be gauged from the many compositions in the Kashmiri language. The earliest Kashmiri texts such as *Mahâ-nayaprakâśa* and *Bâṇāsuravadha*, *Lalla Vâkyāni*, Sayings of Nund Rishi (15th century A.D.), contain frequent references to Nârâyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa and the various *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu. As the language became more mature there came into being a very profuse literature on Kṛṣṇa lore and *Bhakti*. *Paṇḍit* Prakâsh Râm of Kurigam has left us the translation of the *Râmâyaṇa* into Kashmiri verse. *Paṇḍit* Paramânanda of Mattan surpasses all his known predecessors in the technique of metre and rhyme. His forte, however, is the description of *Kṛṣṇa-līlā* into which he has thrown all his heart and soul and intellect. His *Râdhâsvayaṃvara* and *Sudâmācaritra* have made him immortal. He was followed by his disciple, *Paṇḍit* Lakshmanji and by Pandit Krishnadâs of Vanpoh village. The latter has written profusely on various episodes from the *Bhāgawata*. All these poems and *bhajanas* in the local dialect made Kṛṣṇa cult the most popular religious faith among the Hindus of Kashmir.[43]

Some of the masterpieces of the Kashmiri artists depict Kṛṣṇa and Vaiṣṇava lore from all aspects. We have paintings going back to the early 18th century of Kṛṣṇa, the *Gopīs*, the *Râsalīlā* and Viṣṇu and His *Avatāras*. Most of these were produced to be installed in temples and *poojā* rooms of householders and also to illustrate manuscripts.

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[41] *Hist.* pp. 278.

[42] MSS in Anand Koul Collection.

[43] Masterji, *Paramananda Sūkti-sāra*, Vol. I, pp. 19.

Hence from the 18th century onwards we find the foundation of numerous temples dedicated to Viṣṇu, Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, Rāma and the *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu. Notable among these are the Gadâdhara temple near the Secretariat, the Rādhâ-Kṛṣṇa temples at Hari Parvat, Mahârâjganj, Safâ Kadal and Fateh Kadal in Śrīnagara.

Abbreviations

Rāj. = Kalhaṇa's *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, translated by Stein (Constable, Westminister).

Nīl. = *Nîlamatapurâṇa*, text edited by Jagadhar Zadu and R. L. Kanjilal.

Hist. = *A History of Kashmir* by P. N. K. Bamzai (Metropolitans, 2nd Ed.).

Hara. = *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* by *Rājānaka* Jayadratha (Stein Collection).

Report = Bühler's *Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS. in Kashmir.*

Śrī. = *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* of Maṅkha, Bombay Kāvyamālā Series, 1887.

INFLUENCE OF KĀLIDĀSA ON VIMALASŪRI AND RAVIṢEṆA

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The *Paumacariyaṃ* of Vimalasūri is the first Jaina *Purāṇa* dealing with the story of Rāma. Till the time of Vimalasūri the Jaina version of the *Rāmakathā* was preserved only in oral traditions. He is the first Jaina scholar to give it a written form.[1] Vimalasūri states that he completed the work in *Vīra* era 530 = 4 A.D.[2] However, this date has been challenged by some competent authorities who have studied the *Paumacariyaṃ* from different points of view. Today a large number of scholars uphold the view of Jacobi who places the work in the third century A.D.[3]

Another Jaina *Purāṇa* on the story of Rāma is the *Padma Purāṇa* of Raviṣeṇa, composed in 678 A.D. Large portions of it are nothing else but Sanskrit translation of the Prākṛta work of Vimalasūri. It is only in matters of detail that Raviṣeṇa differs from Vimalasūri.

There is a great controversy about the date of Kālidāsa and many dates between the second century B.C. and the first half of the seventh century A.D. have been assigned to the great classical poet of Sanskrit literature.[4]

Vimalasūri's indebtedness to Vālmīki[5] and that of the Hindu *Padma Purāṇa* to Kālidāsa[6] have already been pointed out by scholars. Here an attempt has been made to draw the attention of the scholars towards the indebtedness of Vimalasūri and Raviṣeṇa to Kālidāsa. In order to establish this hypothesis a few parallels have been drawn from the works of Kālidāsa, Vimalasūri and Raviṣeṇa.

The story of Hanumāna's birth from the womb of Añjanā Kumārī as described by Vimalasūri and following him by Raviṣeṇa shows close resemblance with the theme and characters of the *Abhijñāna-śākuntalaṃ*.[7]

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[1] *Paumacariyaṃ*, Prākrita Text Society, Varanasi, 1962, Introduction, p. 14.

[2] *Ibid.*, 118. 103.

[3] *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. 8-15.

[4] *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 433 ff; *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1916, pp. 31 ff, 389, ff; *A.B.O.R.I.*; 1920, pp. 63-68, 1927, Vol. VIII, pp. 200-204; *J.B.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XX, p. 399; Smith, *Early History of India* (Oxford, 1924), p. 321; A.B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 82; Upadhyaya B. S., *India in Kalidasa* (Allahabad, 1924), Appendix A; Mirashi V.V. and Navalekar N. R., *Kalidasa*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, p. 14.

[5] *Paumacariyaṃ*, Introduction p. 6, n. 5.

[6] Chatterjee Ahoka, *Padma-Purāṇa—A Study*, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 130-138.

[7] *Paumacariyaṃ*, Cantos 15-18; *Padma-Purāṇa*, Bharatiya Jnanapitha, Kashi, 1958, Vol. I, Cantos 15-18.

(1) Śakuntalā and Añjanā Kumārī both consummated their love in secret. This came to be known to the elders of their families only after they had shown signs of pregnancy.

(2) Duṣyanta, the lover of Śakuntalā had given her a ring with his name engraved on it. Similarly Añjanā Kumārī had received a *valaya* from her husband Pavanañjaya whose name was engraved on it. When Śakuntalā wanted to show the ring to her husband with a view to reminding him of their marriage, she learnt to her sorrow that she had lost it. Her husband refused to recognise her as his wife and she was expelled from the court quite disgracefully.

Similarly the *valaya* of Añjanā Kumārī lost its validity in the eyes of her mother-in-law and she was also expelled from the house of her husband.

(3) After being discarded by Duṣyanta, Śakuntalā received no better treatment from the side of her father. Then she happened to reach the hermitage of sage Kaśyapa. There she gave birth to her son. Similarly, after being rejected by her father Añjanā Kumārī retired to a forest and there she gave birth to her son in the cave of a *Muni*.

(4) Śakuntalā and Añjanā Kumārī both were re-united with their respective husbands after a long time and both of them considered their ill-fated separation from their husbands as a result of their evil deeds in their past lives.

> " *Nūṇaṃ me suariappadibandha-aṃ purākidaṃ tesu diahesu parīṇāmamuhaṃ asi jeṇa sāṇukkoso vi ajja-utto ma-i viraso saṃvutto* ".
>
> (*Abhijñāna*, VII)

> " *Ahavā ko tuh doso? doso cciya majjha puvvakammāṇam* |
> *Jā haṃ piyaparibhūyā, paribhūyā savvaloeṇam* " ||
>
> (*Paumacariyaṃ*, 16.68)

> " *Athavā bhadra te ko=tra doṣah karmavaśīkṛtam* |
> *Jagatsarvamavāpnoti dukhaṃ vā yadi vā sukham* " ||
>
> (*Padma Purāṇa*, 16.159)

(5) The union of Śakuntalā and Añjanā Kumārī with their respective husbands has been regarded as a result of their good deeds (*Abhijñāna*, VI. 10; *Paumacariyaṃ*, 16.73).

(6) Śakuntalā and Añjanā Kumārī both are said to have been created by the *Prajāpati* with the beauty taken from all the beautiful maidens of the world:

> " *citre niveśya parikalpitasattvayogā rūpoccayena manasā vidhinā kṛtā nu* |
> *Strīratnaśṛṣṭiraparā pratibhāti sā me dhāturvibhutvamanucintya vapuśca tasyāh* " ||
>
> (*Abhijñāna*, II.9)

" *Bha-iṇī tāṇa Kaṇiṭṭhā, vara-añjanasundari tti nāmeṇam /*
Rūvāṇi rūviṇīṇam, ho-ūṇa va hojja nimmaviyā " //

(*Paumacariyaṃ*, 15.12)

" *Utpādyānujā teṣāṃ Kirtitāñjanasundarī /*
Trailokyasundarīrūpasaṃdohenaiva nirmitā " //

(*Padma Purāṇa*, 15.16)

Taṃ daṭṭhūṇa varataṇū, powaṅgai vimhio vicintei /
Kiṃ hojja payāvaiṇā rūpapadāyā kayā esā ? " //

(*Paumacariyaṃ*, 15.64)

" *Aṅgānaviṣayāṃ śṛṣṭimapūrṇāmiva karmaṇā /*
Āhṛtya jagato=śeṣaṃ lāvaṇyamiva nirmitām " //

(*Padma Purāṇa*, 8.68)

" *Akhaṇḍaṃ puṇyānāṃ phalamiva ca tadrūpamanagham /*
na jāne bhoktāraṃ kamiha samupasthāsyati vidhih " //

(*Abhijñāna*, II.10)

" *Anne bhaṇanti puyvaṃ jeṇa tavo suviulo samaṇuciṇṇo /*
Tassesā vara mahilā hohi kammāṇubhāveṇam " //

(*Paumacariyaṃ*, 6.164)

(7) Having been reminded of his marriage with Śakuntalā by the ring discovered from the stomach of a fish, Duṣyanta's repentance on his own actions resembles very much to that of Pavanañjaya who having been moved by the sight of a lamented *chakavī* rushed up to meet his wife immediately.

(*Abhijñāna*, VI; *Paumacariyaṃ*, 16. 55-59; *Padma Purāṇa*, Canto 16).

These parallels indicate that Vimalasūri has written the story of Hanumāna's birth on the model of the theme of *Abhijñāna-Śākuntalaṃ*. That it is Vimalasūri who has been influenced by Kālidāsa is suggested by the following facts:

(1) It had been a general practice in ancient India to wear a ring with one's name engraved on it. The kings and nobles often used their rings (*mudrikā*s) as seals (*mudrā*). But it is quite surprising to learn that a *valaya* (an ornament worn around the wrist) also bore the name of its bearer. This could have hardly served any useful purpose.

(2) Duṣyanta is said to have given his ring to Śakuntalā at the most appropriate occasion, whereas Pavanañjaya is said to have given his *valaya* to his wife so that she might prove the purity of her character before others which sounds very ridiculous.

(3) Kālidāsa had before him the skeleton of his theme in the *Mahābhārata*.[8] He immortalized the theme by the application of his dramatic excellence. That the story of Hanumāna's birth is a creation of Vimalasūri's imagination may be conceded. But it is also not quite unlikely that he got some inspiration from the example of the *Abhijñāna-Śākuntalaṃ.* This becomes still more probable when one finds parallels of some of the expressions of *Abhijñāna* in the *Paumacariyaṃ* as stated earlier.

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[8] *Mahābhārata* I, *Śakuntalopākhyāna*, Chs. 62-69.

(4) The story of Añjanākumārī is full of dramatic touches. The character of Prahasita as a companion of Pavanañjaya resembles to that of Māḍhavya in the *Abhijñāna.* One would find it difficult to trace out any other example in the *Kāvya* literature where the hero is found associated with a *Vidūṣaka*—like character such as Prahasita. The very name Prahasita makes it clear that he is meant for keeping Pavanañjaya in a jolly mood.

On the basis of these facts one would find it difficult to avoid the conclusion that Vimalasūri knew about the *Abhijñāna.*

In the seventh Canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* Kālidāsa gives a vivid description of the ladies of the city crowding at the windows to see Aja as he passes by from the hall of *Svayaṁvara.* It has a striking parallel in the eighth *Parva* of the *Paumacariyaṃ* where Rāvaṇa enters his city after gaining a victory over the ruler of Kiṣkindhā.

" *Tatastadālokanatatparāṇāṃ saudheṣu cāmīkarajālavatsu |*
Babhūvuritthaṃ purasundarīṇāṃ tyaktānyakāryāṇi viceṣṭitāni ||
Ālokamārgaṃ sahasā vrajantyā kayācidudveṣṭanavāntamālyah |
Baddhuṃ na saṃbhāvita eva tāvatkareṇa ruddho=pi ca keśapāśah ||
Prasādhikālambitamagrapādamākṣipya kāciddravarāgameva |
Utsṛṣṭalīlāgatirāgavakṣādalaktakāṃkāṃ padavīṃ tatāna ||
Vilocanaṃ dakṣiṇamañjanena saṃbhāvya tadvañcitavāmanetrā |
tathaiva vātāyanasaṃnikarṣaṃ yayau salākāmaparā vahantī ||
Jālāntarapreṣitadṛṣṭiranyā prasthānabhinnāṃ na babanbha nīvīm |
Nābhipraviṣṭābharaṇaprabheṇa hastena tasthāvavalambya vāsah ||
Ardhāñcitā satvaramutthitāyāh pade pade durnimite galantī |
Kaśyāścidāsīdrasanā tadānīmaṅguṣṭhamūlārpitasūtra śeṣā ||
Tāsāṃ mukhairāsavagandhagarbhairvyāptāntarāh sāndrakutūhalānāṃ |
Vilolanetrabhramarairgavakṣāh sahasrapatrābharaṇā evāsan ||
Tā rāghavaṃ dṛṣṭibhirāpibantyo naryo na jagmurviṣayāntarāṇi |
Tathāhi śeṣendriyavṛttirāsāṃ sarvātmanā cakṣuriva praviṣṭā || "

(*Raghuvaṁśa,* VII. 5-12)

" *Nāyaravahūhi sigghaṃ, dasamuhadarisaṇamaṇāhi aireyam |*
Saṃsāriuṃ gavakkhā, ruddhā ciya vayaṇakamalehim ||
Annā annaṃ pellai, kareṇa mā ṭhāhi maggao turiyam |
Ṭāe vi sā bhaṇijjai, kiṃ majkta na kouyaṃ bahiṇe ? ||

Mā thaṇahareṇa pellasu, dasamuhadarisaṇamaṇā=si aicavale |
Tīe viyasa bhaṇiyā, mā rumbha gavakkhayaṃ eyam ||
Bhaṇai sahī! dhammillaṃ, avasārasu majjha nayaṇamaggāo |
Tīe viyasā bhaṇiyā, na ya pecchasi antaraṃ viulam ||
Nāyaravahūhi evaṃ, dasāṇaṇaṃ tatth pecchamāṇīhim |
Halabolamuhalasaddā, bhavanagavakkhā kayā savve || "

(*Paumacariyam*, 8.276-280)

Gavākṣābhimukhāh kāścittvarāvisrastavāsah |
Anyo=nyavādhavicchinnamuktāhāravibhūṣanāh ||
Pīnastanakṛtānyonyapīḍanāccalakuṅḍalāh |
Raṇatkāri tulākoṭivācālacaraṇadvayāh ||
Kiṃ na paśyasi hā mātah pārśvato bhava durbhage |
Dehi mārgaṃ vrajamuṣmādapi nāri na sobhase ||
Nigadantyevamādīni vikacāmburuhānanāh |
Muktvā vyāpārajātāni tamaikṣanta purāṅganāh ||

(*Padma Purāṇa*, 8.524-527)

The account of Śrīmālā's *svayaṁvara* found in the works of Vimalasūri and Raviṣeṇa also shows their indebtedness to Kālidāsa. In the sixth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* Kālidāsa gives a vivid description of Indumati's *svayaṁvara* which is different from other accounts of the *svayaṁvaras* found in the epics. In the epics we find no provision for the introduction of the suitors to the princess who was about to choose her husband from amongst them. For instance, in the *svayaṁvaras* of Sītā and Draupadī the conditions for selection had already been laid down by their guardians and these princesses were left with no choice of their own.[9] The *svayaṁvara* of Damayantī as described in the *Mahābhārata* suggests that she had already made up her mind in favour of Nala. Even then she found it difficult to single out Nala from the galaxy of princes as there was none to introduce them to her.[10] In the *Raghuvaṁśa*, Indumatī is given the opportunity of knowing about the merits of all the pricness where Sunandā takes her to all suitors one by one and gives a vivid account of their merits.[11]

In the *Paumacariyaṃ* and the *Padma Purāṇa*, the maid servant Sumaṅgalā does the job of Sunandā. Now the question is should we give the credit for introducing this innovation to *Prākṛta-kavi* Vimalasūri whose *Paumacariyaṃ* " has very little poetic value " or to Kālidāsa who, as a poet and dramatist still remains unsurpassed in Indian literature? Apart from the similarity of style Vimalasūri's description of the *svayaṁvara* is so dry that it is very difficult to accept that he had gone through Kālidāsa's account of Indumatī's *svayaṁvara*.

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[9] *Rāmāyana*, I 66.27; *Mahābhārata*, I Chs. 178-180.

[10] *Mahābhārata*, III, *Nalopākhyāna Parvan*, Chas. 54 ff.

[11] *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI.

However, the following facts seem to suggest that Vimalasūri was acquainted with the works of Kālidāsa :

(1) The arrival of Indumatī in the *svayaṁvara* hall as described by Kālidāsa is similar to that of Śrīmālā's advent before her suitors.

Puropakaṅṭhopavanaśrayāṇāṃ Kalāpināmuddhatanṛtyahetau |
Pradhmātaśankhe parito digantānstūryasvane murcchatimaṅgalārthe ||
Manuṣyavāhyaṁ caturasrayānamadhyāsya kanyā parivāraśobhi |
Viveśa mañcāntararājamārgaṃ patiṁvarā klṛptavivāhaveṣā || "

(*Raghuvaṁśa*, VI. 9-10)

" *Savvammi supaḍiute sirimālābharaṇabhūsiyasarīrā |*
Varajuvai-mantisahiyā, rāyasamuddaṃ samoiṇṇā ||
pāsesu cāmarai uvariṃ paḍipuṇṇanimmalaṃ chattam |
purao nanditūraṃ, ghaṇagurugambhīrasaddālam || "

(*Paumacariyaṃ*, VI. 160-161)

(2) Vimalasūri's description of *svayaṁvara* includes a verse which has a close parallel in the *Abhijñāna*.

" *Anne bhaṇanti puvvaṃ, jeṇa tavo suviulo samaṇuciṇṇo |*
tassesā varamahilā, hohi kammāṇubhāveṇam || "

(*Paumacariyaṃ*, 6.164)

" *Akhaṇḍaṃ puṇyānāṃ phalamiva ca tadrūpamanagham |*
na jāne bhoktāraṃ kamiha samupasthāsyati vidhih || "

(*Abhijñāna*, II.10)

Raviṣeṇa seems to have composed his account of Śrīmālā's *svayaṁvara* in the light of Vimalasūri's account as well as Kālidāsa's description of Indumatī's *svayaṁvara*. Some of the verses of Kālidāsa have been put by Raviṣeṇa in a slightly different form.

" *Tāṃ pratyabhivyaktamanorathānāṃ mahīpatīnāṃ praṇayāgradutyah |*
Pravāla-śobhā eva pādapānāṃ śṛṅgāraceṣṭā vividhā babhūvuh || "

(*Raghuvaṁśa*, VI. 12)

" *Atha svayaṁvarāśānāṃ pravṛtte vyomacāriṇām |*
Madanāśliṣṭacittānāmiti sundaravibhramah || "

(*Padma Purāṇa*, VI. 354)

" *Kāmaṃ nṛpāh santu sahasraśo=nye rājanvatīmāhuranen bhūmim |*
Nakṣatratārāgrahasaṁkulāpi jyotiṣmatī candramasaiva rātriḥ || "

(*Raghuvaṁśa*, VI. 22)

" *Satyamanyepi vidyante namamātreṇa khecarāh |*
Teṣāṃ khadyotatulyānāṃ bhāskaratāṃ gatah || "

(*Padma Purāṇa*, 6.398)

" *Kaścitkarābhyāmupagūdhanālamālolapatrābhihitadvirepham |*
Rajobhirantahpariveṣabandhi līlāravindaṃ bhramayāṁcakāra || "

(*Raghuvaṁśa*, VI. 13)

" *Aparo=bhramayat padmaṃ baddhabhramaramaṇḍalam |*
Savyetareṇahastena visarpan karṇikārajah || "

(*Padma Purāṇa*, VI. 378)

" *Ākuñcitāgrāṅgulinā tato=nyah kiñcitsamavarjitanetraśobhah |*
Tiryagvisaṃsarpinakhaprabheṇa pādena haimaṃ vilililekha pīṭham || "

(*Raghuvaṁśa*, VI. 15)

" *Pādāṅguṣṭhena kaśc-icca netrantekṣitakanyakah |*
Kṛtvā pāṇitale gaṇḍaṃ lilekha caraṇāsanam || "

(*Padma Purāṇa*, VI. 371)

" *Tāṃ saiva vetragrahaṇe niyuktā rājāntaraṃ rājasutāṃ nināya |*
Samiraṇo-ttheva taraṅgalekhā padmāntaraṃ mānasarājahaṁsīm || "

(*Raghuvaṁśa*, VI. 26)

" *Abhāṣayadimāṃ bālāṃ tato=nyaṃ vyomacāriṇam |*
Dhātrī sadahsarasyabjaṃ haṁsīmutkalikā yathā || "

(*Padma Purāṇa*. VI. 414)

" *Tasminnabhidyotitabandhupadme pratāpasaṁśoṣitaśatrupaṅke |*
Babandha sā nottamasau kumāryā kumudvatī bhānumatīva bhāvaṃ || "

(*Raghuvaṁśa*, VI. 36)

" *Tatah khecarabhānuṃ taṃ dṛṣṭvā kanyā kumudvatī |*
Saṁkocaṃ paramaṃ yātā dhātryeti gaditā punah || "

(*Padma Purāṇa*, VI. 401)

" *Pāṇḍyo=yamaṁsārpitulambahārah klṛptāṅgarāgo haricandanena |*
Ābhāti bālātaparaktasānuh sanirjharodgāra evādrirājah || "

(*Raguvaṁśa*, VI. 60)

" *Paśya vakṣo=sya vistīṛṇaṃ cārucandanacarcitam |*
Cand-raraśmiparişvaktaṃ kailāsatatasannibham ||
Ucchalatkarabhāro=sya hāro vakṣasi rājate |
Utsarpatsīkaro dūraṃ kailāsa eva mirjharah || "

(*Padma Purāṇa*, VI. 403-404)

" *Tasyānvaye bhūpatireṣa jātah pratipa etyāgamavṛddhasevī |*
Yena śṛyah saṁśrayadoṣarūḍham svabhāvaloletyayaśah pramṛṣtam || "

(*Raghuvaṁśa*, VI. 41)

" *Asya bāhudvaye lakṣmīrdineśakarabhāsure* /
Cañcalāpi svabhāven saṁyatevāvatiṣṭhate // "

(*Padma Purāṇa*, VI. 397)

On the basis of the above discussion it may be concluded that Vimalsūri and Raviṣeṇa both are indebted to Kālidāsa. Now if it is accepted that *Vira-era* 530 = A.D. 4 is the date of the composition of the *Paumachariyaṃ*, as Vimalasūri has himself recorded, then the date of Kālidāsa may be fixed sometime before the beginning of the Christian era. Even if Vimalasūri is regarded as a poet of the third century A.D., Kālidāsa cannot be placed in the Gupta age as it is generally believed.[12] Moreover, if we acknowledge Aśvaghoṣa's indebtedness to Kālidāsa, as pointed out the scholars[13] there is all possibility of truth in the speculation that Kālidāsa was a poet of the first century B.C.

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[12] Keith, A. B., *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 82; *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. XX, p. 399; Upadhyaya B. S., *India in Kalidasa*, Appendix A.; Mirashi V. V. and Navalekar N. R., *Kalidasa*, pp. 14 ff.

[13] *A.B.O.R.I.*, 1920, pp. 63-68.

DATED RĀGAMĀLĀ FROM RĀDHANPUR (MEṢAKARṆA AND MUFTĀHUSARŪR)

By

RATAN PARIMOO, Baroda

Not many *Rāgamālā* paintings have been obtained from Gujarat region so far, although one of the earliest known *Rāgamālā* sets of pictorial personifications was probably painted in Gujarat.[1] Even at the same time our knowledge of the tradition of painting in the regional style of Gujarat during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is still scanty. The question of continuity in the *Rāgamālā* genre is therefore far from clear in Gujarat, unlike Rajasthan, which has remained a stronghold of *Rāgamālā* painting.[2] This also presupposes extensive patronage, courtly and religious as well as at mass level, so far as the actual art of music is considered in Rajasthan. But certainly even the history of musical practice in Gujarat, its patronage and the tradition of writing treatises on the art of music, has not yet been fully studied.[3]

Under the circumstances, availability of a dated set of *Rāgamālā* paintings in a musical treatise in *Gujarātī* language from within Gujarat, is a highly significant occasion. It is this manuscript and "musical" paintings in it which are presented in this paper.[4] The manuscript and the 84 paintings in it are in the collection of Shri Amit Ambalal, Ahmedabad.

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[1] Nawab S. M., *Masterpieces of Kalpasūtra Painting*, Ahmedabad, 1956. The set of *Rāgamālā* Paintings, illustrated and discussed in this book is painted on the back of a *Kalpasūtra* manuscript datable to c. 1475 A.D. See also *Ibid.*, and Krishna A., An Early *Rāgamālā* Series, *Art Orientalis*, Vol. IV, 1962, for the two more *Rāgamālā* sets of Paintings belived to have been painted in Gujarat during last quarter of 16th Century. These have been again discussed and reproduced by Dahmen-Dallapiccola, Anna Libera, Ragamala-Miniaturen Von 1475 bis 1700, Wiesbaden, 1975.

[2] Gangoly O. C., *Ragas and Raginis*, 2 Vols, Calcutta, 1955. Klaus Ebeling, *Ragamala* Painting, Paris, 1973.

[3] U. P. Shah has edited *Saṅgītopaniṣat—Sāroddhāra*, a work on Indian music and dancing by Vacanacarya Sudhakalasa, Oriental Institute, Baroda 1961; G.O.S. no. 133. It is the work of a Jaina monk from Western India written c. 1350 A.D. and represents the Jaina tradition of writing on music and dance and its practice in Gujarat but this treatise has more coverage of dance. Another treatise, *Rasakaumudi* by Śrīkaṇṭha, edited by A. N. Jani, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1963, G.O.S. no. 143, was written while the author was in the service of King Śatruśalya i.e. Jam Sattarsal of Navanagar, near Dvarka in Saurashtra c. 1596. This scholar hailed from Karnataka and followed his guru, Pundarika Vitthal, in his classification of the *Rāgas* which are based on *Melas*, i.e. genus-species system and not according to *Rāga-Rāgiṇi-Putra* families.

These treatises do not indicate any link with the *Rāgamālā* Paintings discussed in this paper.

[4] Shri Amit Ambalal has kindly permitted its publication.

According to the introductory pages of this manuscript, which were written in first person by the author who was the compiler as well as translator, it was written at the behest of Joravarkhan Babi, the Nawab of Radhanpur in the year 1896 V.S. (= 1839 A.D.). The author introduces himself as Trikamlal, Mangrol Bandarkar, who belonged to *Nāgara* caste of Vadnagar. (Text. Figs. 1,2,3) (Trikamlal belonged to a distinguished Nāgara family. His father Kanji Bakshi had migrated from Mangrol to Radhanpur. Trikamlal had held many posts in the Radhanpur state eventually to become the Diwan.)[5]

The purpose, he explains, was to prepare a musical treatise in local language—*sarāsari zabān* (he does not specify *Gujarātī*, although the actual language used is *Gujarātī*, but the script is *Devanāgarī*). Among the sources from which the material was compiled and translated, the author mentions two Persian musical texts, *Muftāhūsarūr* and *Rāga Darpaṇa*. The author chose the title *Rāga Maṇḍala*, for his *Gujarāti* compilation. The author further observed that the singers and instrumentalists in his own time did not sing or play according to the authentic system (*asalnā pramāṇe*) and that they play in "faulty manner" according to their own "intelligence". Thus the author was fulfilling the orders of the Nawab so that the performers will follow the right path.

The specific reference to the orders of the ruler, who was a Muslim, and adaptation of the language to non-Hindu readers, together with sprinkling of Persian words, indicate that it was to be used by court musicians. Thus two assumptions can be made, that the Nawab and the court were fond of North Indian classical music and that like the ruler, the musicians may have also been Muslims, although the author was a Gujarati Hindu brahmin.

It will be interesting to see how Sanskrit terminology often is translated to remove Hindu connotations as far as possible or explained with the help of an Islamic equivalent. This is partly due to the fact that the translator had used a Persian text and was not probably aware of the Sanskrit sources from which it was adapted. At any rate the translator does not indicate if he had actually looked for the original Sanskrit texts. The distortion in the proper names of *rāgas* made by Trikamlal is also due to the fact that he got his names from the already corrupted Persian version.[6]

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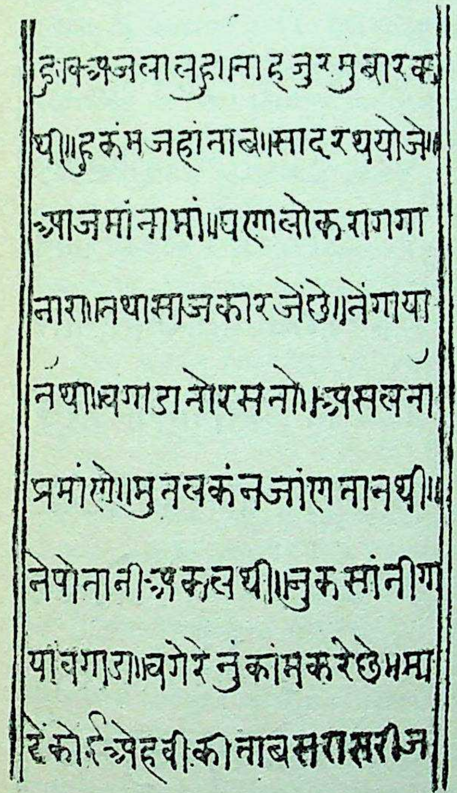
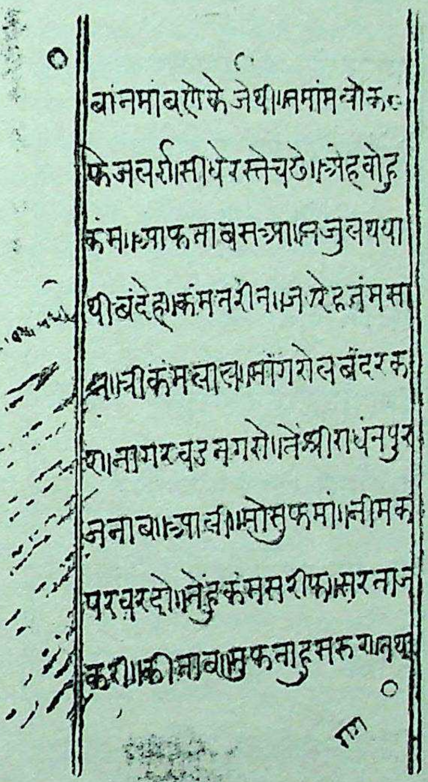
[5] Trikamlal died in 1884 A.D. A brief reference to him is made by Mohanlal Dhanjibhai Kakuvalia in his introduction to *Anant Ākhyānamālā* Part I, Ahmedabad, 1925. Anantprasad (born 1860) was the son of Trikamlal who also held administrative posts in Radhanpur, but who made his name as a *bhakti* poet in Gujarati. He is also known to have been well-versed in music as is indicated by his directions of *Rāgas* or *chhandas* in which his *ākhyānas* are to be sung. My attention to Anant Akhyanmala was drawn by the distinguished Gujarati scholar, Shri K. K. Shastri of Ahmedabad and Shri Devadatta Joshi of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, located this book for me. I also acknowledge the help given by Shri Shambuprasad Desai, the well known historian of Saurashtra.

[6] See chart giving comparison of *Rāga* names.



इ॥क्क्अजलालद्दी॥नाहजुरमुबारक
थी॥हुकमजहांनाबा॥सादरथयोजे॥
आजमांनाभां॥घणाबोकरागगा
नारा॥नथासाजकारजेंछे॥नेगाया
नथा॥वगाडानारसनो॥अखसना
प्रमांणे॥मुनसकंनजांणनानथी॥
नेपोनानीअकलथी॥मुकसांनीग
पांवगाडा॥वगेरेनुंकांमकरेछेभमा
हेंकोईअहवीकानाबसरासरीज

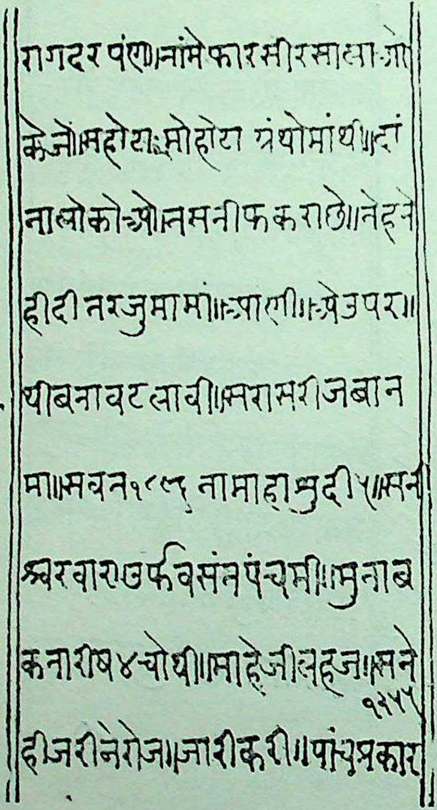
Fig. 1



बांनमांबणेके जेथी॥नमांमबोक
फेजलशी॥सीधेरस्तेचडे॥अहवोहु
कम॥आफनाबसआ॥नजुलथया
थीबंदेहाकमनरीन॥जरेहनंमसा
श्री॥नीकमलाबा॥मांगरोलबंदरक
रा॥नागरचउनगरो॥तेश्रीराधनपुर
जनाबा॥आर्दा॥मोसुफमां॥नीमक
परवरदो॥नेहुकमसरीफ॥सरनाज
करा॥कीनावासुफनाहुसरुवातथा

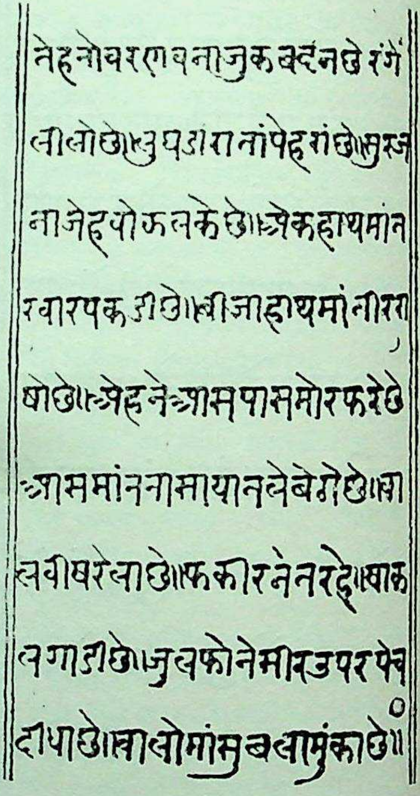
Fig. 2

(Figs. 1 to 3)
Colophon pages from Rādhanpur Rāgamālā
Coll : Shri Amit Ambalal, Ahmedabad.



रागदरपंण॥नांमे फारसीरसाला॥ओ
केजो॥महोरा॥मोहोरा ग्रंथोमांथी॥दां
नालोकोओनमनीफकराछे॥नेहने
हीदीनरजुमामां॥प्राणी॥अेउपर॥
थीबनावटलावी॥मरासरीजबान
मा॥संवत१८९६ नामाहासुदी५॥सने
श्वरवारउर्फवसंतपंचमी॥मुनाब
कतारीष४चोथी॥माहेजीलहज॥सने
१२५५
हीजरीनेरोज॥जारीकरी॥पांचप्रकार

Fig. 3



नेहनोचरणबनाजुकबदनछेरंगे
नीलोछे॥उपडारानापेहरांछे॥सुरज
नाजेहपोफलकेछे॥अेकहाथमांन
रवारपकडीछे॥बीजाहाथमांनीरख
षोछे॥अेहनेआसपासमोरफरेछे
आसमांननामायानलेबेरोछे॥सा
लवीषरेलाछे॥फकीरनेनरद्दे॥षाक
लगाडीछे॥जुबफोनेमोरउपरफे
दीधाछे॥सालोमांसबलामुंकाछे॥

Fig. 4
Description of Megha Rāga

Radhanpur was one of the princely states in Gujarat ruled by the house of Babis[7]. Their ancestry is traced to Bahadur Khan who came to India in the company of Humayun. Their descendents held Foujdari or Governorship of Radhanpur, Patan, Vadnagar etc., (areas in north Gujarat) confered upon them by the Mughals. During the Maratha incursions they established themselves as rulers of Radhanpur but in 1813 the British resident negotiated a treaty entrusting to Gaekwads of Baroda the external relations and defence of Radhanpur. The Nawabs of Radhanpur were most friendly with the British and were bound by treaties not to harbour outlaws or enemies of the British Government. Joravar Khan, during whose rule our manuscript was written and painted, succeeded to the throne in 1825 A.D. when he was three years old but was invested with full powers on attaining majority in 1837.[8] He died in 1874. Apparently his long and peaceful rule may have been responsible for the court to devote to activities like music and painting, of which our manuscript is a strong pointer. No other information regarding cultural involvement of this Nawab is available to the present author. But much pictorial activities appear to have been initiated during the middle of nineteenth century as is proved by the fact that a considerable number of paintings from Radhanpur, including inscribed portraits of rulers, have been coming in the art market in the recent years.[9]

The manuscript consists of 170 folios of written matter and painted pages. The size of the page is approximately 16 cm × 25 cm and painted area 11 cm. × 15 cm. There are 84 full page paintings, thus large bulk of it is devoted to paintings.[10] The text comprises of five sections., (i the foundation of *Rāga* and Sound including *Grāma* and *Mūrcchanā*, (ii) *Rāga*s, their wives and sons and their iconographies (*Svarūpa*), (iii) manner of singing, (iv) the basis of *Pakhavāj* and the system of Dance, (v) the order of *Rāga*s, *Rāgiṇī*s and *Rāga-*

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[7] The Imperial Gazetter of India, Vol. XXI, Oxford, 1908. According to the above the name of the town Radhanpur, derives from Radan Deo, a Chavda Chief. But it is also claimed to have derived from Radhan Khan of Fateh Khan Baloch family who held it as a fief during the Gujarat Sultans. Radhanpur was also ruled by Vaghelas when it was known as Lunavada after Vaghela Lunaji.

[8] According to Somerset Playne, Indian States, a Biographical, Historical and Administrative Survey, London, 1921/22, Zorawarkhan was a "Wise and clever ruler, devoted to welfare of his people, encouraging the spread of education and interesting himself deeply in the inauguration of measures of reform and progress." "He beautified the town of Radhanpur by making a number of fine public gardens,........"

[9] Shri Amit Ambalal has several such portraits of Radhanpur Nawabs with names of the Nawabs inscribed on each of them.

[10] Paintings of first two *rāgiṇis* of Dipaka *Rāga* are missing including the relevant textual discription, since folio 84 and 85 are lost. Description of Deepak *Rāga* is also missing but its portrayal is intact. With the extra wife and son to Śri *Rāga* the total number of painted folios comes to 84.

putras. What is noteworthy about it as a major document of *Rāgamālā* painting is the detailed description of pictorial forms of *Rāgas*. Each alternative page was left blank by the scribe after writing the description, so that the painter painted the pictures after its writing was completed. Probably that is why the painter's name or names have not been inscribed or inserted anywhere in the text. The condition of the manuscript is excellent, there is no brittleness in the paper and colour also has retained its freshness and lusture. Only in the case of one painting, the paint surface is slightly smudged probably due to a water drop.[11] Considering the fact that the *Rāgamālā* paintings in this manuscript are based on the pattern of *Rāga* families consisting of one male *Rāga*, 5 wives and 8 *Rāgaputras* i.e. 14 in each family and adding up to 84 in the whole set, it appears to follow what is known as Meṣakarṇa's system. A broad comparison of descriptions given in this manuscript and the published version of descriptions drawn from Meṣakarṇa's unpublished manuscripts further support this contention, although the author of our manuscript does not mention Meṣakarṇa or his musical treatise by name.[12] (Meṣakarṇa is also spelled as Kṣemakarṇa).

A copy of the Persian manuscript *Muftāhusarūr* from which Trikamlal did the translation is preserved in the Salarjung Museum, Hyderabad. It was written during the 6th regnal year of Aurangzeb at a place spelled as *Antūr* or Ananūr, near Daulatabad (in Aurangabad Suba) and is dated 1663 A.D. (1074 A.H.). The translator mentions the following Sanskrit treatises : *Saṅgīta Ratnākara*, *Rūpa Ratnākara*, *Saṅgīta Makaranda* and *Bharata Saṅgīta*, which are not mentioned by our author in his introductory pages.[13] A perusal of

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[11] Painting no. 62 in the sequence representing Sandhu, *Rāgaputra* of *Śrī Rāga*.

[12] Descriptions drawn from unpublished manuscripts of Meṣakarṇa are given by E. and R. Waldschmidt in *Miniatures of Musical Modes*, Wiesbaden, 1966. These are paraphrased by K. Ebeling *op.cit*. Oriental Institute Baroda, also owns a manuscript of Meṣakarṇa's *Rāgamālā* containing mainly the descriptions of *Rāga* personifications. Shri Jayadev Jani, Lecturer in Sanskrit, M. S. University of Baroda, has helped me in translating some of the descriptions. I am thankful to Prof. A. N. Jani, Director, Oriental Institute, for allowing me to use the manuscript. Familiarity with Meṣakaraṇa's system of *Ragamālā* families in Gujarat is also indicated by Girdhar's *Krishna charita* (written in Gujarati during the 18th Century) which contains verses mentioning the names of *rāgas* in which they are to be sung. Some of these correspond to the *rāgas*, *rāgiṇis* and *rāgaputras* from Meṣakarṇa's system.

[13] The compiler's name is given as Qadi Hasan, son of Khwaja Tahir, son of Khwaja Mohammed. Another copy of this manuscript was transcribed by Abdullah Ahmed Jamaludin in the year 1806 A.D. (1217 A.H.). It's title is given as *Miftāhu-Al-Surūr*. At times the scribes spell it also as *Muftāhusarūd*. This manuscript which is in the National Museum contains full-page illustrations of the *Rāgas*, mostly as mediocre line drawings by perhaps some Deccani artist. The persian manuscript, *Rāga Darpaṇa*, the source for the musical theory portion of Trikamlal's translation, is preserved in the Salarjung Museum, Hyderabad. I am grateful to Dr. Nigam, Director of Salarjung Museum and to Shri Narendra Nath of National Museum for showing me the manuscripts in their respective collections.

Muftāhusarūr shows that this manuscript almost entirely consists of description of *Rāga* personifications with very little theoretical portion. The theoretical portion was adapted from the other named Persian manuscript, *Rāga Darpaṇa.* It is generally observed from the known *Rāgamālā* paintings so far and which have been analysed by scholars, that Meṣakarṇa's system of *Rāga* families comprising of one husband, five wives and eight sons, making a set of 84, was mostly followed by the Pahari painters as well as in Deccan to some extent.[14] Very few sets following the Meṣakarṇa's system have been painted in Western India as such and therefore the *Rāgamālā* of Radhanpur is of great significance in that case not only for Gujarat but also for Rajasthan.

II

The imagery of the paintings depicting personifications of the *rāgas* in this manuscript strictly follows the textual description. The painter obviously read the description of a *rāga* as already written down by the author and literally illustrated it on the blank page left expressly for this purpose. This is indicated by a close examination of the text and the illustration. This establishes the fact that the painter was not deriving from any particular tradition of *Rāgamālā* painting prevailing in Rajasthan, i.e. he was not following any known pictroial convention. He has adhered to written descriptions as is evident by a random example of Toḍī *Rāgiṇī.* The description mentions that the lady is holding a *vīṇā* and cymbals while she is singing, which is illustrated by the painter who certainly did not follow the more familiar version of *nāyikā* holding a *vīṇā* and accompanied by a deer in an out-door landscape background. (See Plate ', Fig. 1, it is no 43 in sequence). This *rāgiṇī* here belongs to the Dipaka family where as in the " Painters system " it belongs to " Hindol " family and according to Hanumat's system to " Malkos " family[15]. On the other hand *Gauḍī Rāgiṇi* (no. 61), of *Śrī Rāga* family in the Radhanpur *Rāgamālā* is represented as the lady with deer approaching her while she is seated in front of a pavilion. (Plate I, Fig. 2) A variation of lady with a *Vīṇā* occurs again but this time in seated position as in *Śrīnati* (no. 19), *Rāgiṇī* of Malkos.

Since the painter heavily depended on the written description which became his direct " subject matter ", it would be interesting to examine the textual descriptions in some detail. The textul descriptions very vividly describe the masculine and the faminine characters, their complexion, their dresses and their colour, the ornaments they put on, whether the hero or heroine are standing or seated, indoors or in outdoor setting. The descriptions are in simple prose, no usual poetic or *dohā* metres are used. (See Text Fig. 4 for a typical description) The *nāyikā* connotations are often suppressed for example as we find in the Amber *Rāgamāla*.[16] Similarly the "sexual expertise" or adroitness etc. of the male *rāga* (the *nāyaka*) is underplayed. Thus there are hardly any references to erotic moods, the lovers indulgence in sexual love, the impatiently awaiting *nāyikā*, her sorrow or anger etc.[17] Hardly any interaction between *nāyaka* and *nāyikā* is depicted. This avoidence of erotic flavour gives a certain austerity to these pictorial representations of musical modes, and is important to note when analysing them. Further noteworthy difference between this and the other 36-set *Ragamālā* paintings is that here the female *rāga* or the wife *rāgiṇī* is always depicted as a woman and *rāgaputras* (sons) are always depicted as masculine figures, in one case the *rāgaputra* is represented as a young boy playing ball with three other kids (Ainanand, *Putra* of Malkos, no. 26). (Plate II, Fig. 3). However, the descriptions often refer to the beauty of the *nāyikā*, her proportionate body, shapely firm breasts (Devagiri *Rāgiṇī*, no. 31 of Hindol) possessing 32 *lakṣaṇa*s (Śrīnatī *Rāgiṇī*, no. 19 and Ainanand no. 26 both of Malkos), similes, such as comparing the face with the moon, the eyes with lotus or that of the deer (Karnati *Rāgiṇī* no. 75 of Śrī Rāga). These contain traces of the original Sanskrit descriptions. In the descriptions the colours of the sari and choli are always mentioned but there is a great variety of the complexions which has been meticulously followed by the artists which include a whole range of dark complexions very rarely seen in other *Rāgamālā* paintings. These are the most common, red and fair, plain white to salt green, dark greenblue, dark brown, dark black.[18] This is interesting in the sense that the actual Indian ethnic human complexions are adopted along with the presence of tribal characters like the *bhils*. The dark complexions and the *bhil* types occur more frequently in the portrayal of personifications of Megha family. These elements, give a local and distinct flavour to this *Rāgamālā* set. Thus this *Rāgamālā* set is not entirely "courtly" but introduces aspects of common people from the region. However note may be taken of the sarees in "chintz" (sometimes silk is also mentioned) and other textiles, like floor coverings in genuine *kalamkārī* patterns, head ornaments, which are derived from the aristocratic background.[19]

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[14] (i) Waldschmidt, *op cit.*, p. 33, 34.
(ii) K. Ebeling, *op cit.*, p. 204, 272.

[15] Ebeling, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

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[16] Text of Amber *Rāgamāla* is given in *ibid.*, Text I, p. 136.

[17] For the discussion regarding *Nāyaka-Nāyikā* relationships and erotic moods on which are based many of the Rajasthānī *Rāgamālā* iconographies, see Gangoly, *op.cit.*, p. 102.

[18] Red and Fair: Bengali-no. 2, Bhairavī—no. 6, *Rāgiṇis* of Bhairva; Bilāval—no. 14, Lalita—no. 11, *Putras* of Bhairava; Maru—no. 20, *Putra* of Malkos; Champak—no. 47, *Putra* of Deepak; Gunakali—no. 76, *Rāgiṇī* of Megha; Śankarābharaṇa—no. 83, *Putra* of Megha; Plain White: Bhairava—no. 1, Punaki—no. 5, *Rāgiṇī* of Bhairava; Madhu—no. 9, *Putra* of Bhairava. Salt Green: Bilāvali—no. 4, *Rāgiṇī* of Bhairava. Dark Green: Pancham—no. 7, Madhav—no. 10, *Putras* of Bhairava; Malkos—no. 15 and Dhanāsri—no. 18, *Rāgiṇī* of Malkos, Basanta—no. 38, *Putra* of Hindol, Kedāro—no. 80 and Kānaḍo—no. 81, *Putras* of Megha. Dark Blue: Rāma—no. 53, *Putra* of Deepak, Ābhirī—no. 29, *Rāgiṇī* of Hindol, Malhārī—no. 74 and Naṭanārāyaṇa—no. 79, *Rāgiṇī* and *Putra* of Megha. Dark Brown: Gund—no. 84, *Putra* of Megha. Black: Gauḍī—no. 61, *Rāgiṇī* of Shri Rāga, Ahirī—no. 73, *Rāgiṇī* of Megha.

A pointer to the heavy dependence on the textual description on the part of the painter is the unusual representation of Bhairava *Rāga*, the opening *rāga* in our set.[20] (Plate II, Fig. 4) Here Śiva is represented as emerging (or born) from the mouth of a stag. This is due to the author having described it in this manner. The author took over his description from the Persian text *Muftāhusarūr*. The Persian translator presumably consulted Meṣakarṇa's Sanskrit text, which implies that Bhairava *Rāga* i.e. the sound, is born out of the mouth of Śiva. But the Gujarati translator has turned the word ' siva ' to ' shamb ' and thereby the stag. This is an interesting occurance of mistranslation of the text leading to a new kind of musical iconography, in this case an unusual and what may be construed a very imaginative visualization which has posed a considerable challenge to the artist. He had to show a full grown man ejecting from the small mouth of the stag and yet include all the attributes and attire of Śiva, trident, snake, the ashen hair etc. Moreover to complete the musical connotation, Śiva is made to sound the horn he is holding in his hand. The " secularization " of the Sanskrit text is obvious in the way the *kapālāñjala*, ' skull cup ', is explained as a cup made out of a human skull. The artist has appropriately drawn the stag sturdy and strong, tensely carrying Śiva's body in his open jaws. A beautiful arabesque is created rising vertically from the hoofs of the animal along his neck connecting with Śiva's hand holding the horn to his mouth. Another instance of mistranslation is when the phrase ' Śiva's throat with poisen ' is changed to " Śiva wearing a necklace " However it is interesting that the local Saurashtra word *hās* is used in the Gujarati text. *Tribhaṅga* is translated as " making three bends, " as in the descriptions of Madhava (*Rāgaputra* of Bhairava) and Mālakos. (Plate III, Fig. 5). (See below).

Some of the *Rāga* representations (according to the family groups) are being discussed below which have marked differences with the way they are represented in the Rajasthani tradition. Bhairavī (no. 3) from the Bhairava family is represented as a lady seated on a carpet and supported by a bolster instead of the usual depiction of the lady worshipping a *liṅgam*, Bilāvalī (no. 4) of the same family, as a lady assisted at her toilet by her attendents, one of whom holds a mirror in front of her, is portrayed by Radhanpur artist as a dark green complexioned woman standing among a grove of trees.[21] She holds kevaḍā and champā in one hand and pān in another. Lalita (no. 11) is a happy young man in the typical Rajput costume of white colour going forward in a black background in place of the hero going away from the bed of his sleeping beloved.[22] Desākh (no. 12) is a solitary wrestler-like man but is not performing any acrobatics.[23]

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[19] Figures of the following pictures are wearing garments in chintz (i.e. *chheent*): Bilāvalī, Punākī, Ābhīrī, Basantī, Toḍī, Kālahaṅgā, Patrātī, Sānūpurī, Mārū, Suratī, Guṇakalī. Kalamkāri floor coverings are seen in: Gāndhārī (no. 17), Devagirī (no. 31), Śrīharī (no. 33) Khimāla *Rāgaputra* (no. 54), Naṭanārāyaṇa *Rāgaputra* (no. 79).

[20] For convenience's sake, for all references to texts as well as Rajasthani representations of Ragamala paintings, I have quoted K. Ebeling, *op.cit.* See also Dahmen-Dallapiccola *op. cit.* in this connection. For Bhairava in Rajasthani tradition see plate C 1, in Ebeling, *op.cit.*

Mālkos (no. 15) (Plate III, Fig. 5) is portrayed as dark complexioned Kṛṣṇa wearing yellow dress and playing flute, which is otherwise represented as a seated lord.[24] The image of Kṛṣṇa playing flute has been adopted on two more occasions. Mādhava (no. 10, *Putra* of Bhairava *Rāga* shows him with this variation that he holds flute with left hand and *vīṇā* in his right hand, face is in three-quarter view. Jālandhara (no. 78) *Rāgaputra* of Megha, is described as resembling " Kisandeo " who is playing flute, has dark complexion but is surrounded by animals who have become stunned under the spell of his flute. (Plate III, Fig. 6) In the painting these are placed symmetrically on either side of *Rāgaputra*. Stags, deers, goats and lion are very cutely drawn as gentle creatures. Another image of *Vaiṣṇava* affiliation also belongs to the Megha family, that is Sāranga *Rāgaputra*, no. 82. The description does not mention Viṣṇu by name, thus it is not clear whether it is the case of Viṣṇu appearing to a lady or she is supposed to stand for Laksmi. The description is another instance of " de-Hinduising " of the translation. Dark complexioned Viṣṇu having four arms is carried by Garuda who has human body and legs.[25] The composition is dramatized in the way he bows and folds his hands toward the seated lady. Indirect reference to Viṣṇu can be seen in a turbaned figure having four arms two of which hold a flute, as in the depiction of Kantal, no. 50 *Rāgaputra* of Dīpaka.

Hindola, no. 28, is portrayed in an entirely unexpected image of a Rajput warrior pulling at a bow and bees are buzzing unceasingly around him. (Plate IV, Fig. 7). The familiar representation of this *rāga* is a lord (or Kṛṣṇa) on a swing accompanied by consort.[26] Basant (no. 39, *Putra* of Hindola), instead of a lord dancing to music or Kṛṣṇa playing *ḍholak* in a spring-like landscape, shows a Rajput costumed male surrounded by a mango grove.[27] The description

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[21] Bhairavī in Rajasthani tradition, plate C 4, *ibid.*

[22] Compare with plate C 9, *ibid.*

[23] Compare with plate C 19, *ibid.*

[24] Compare with plate C 10, *ibid.*

[25] Sāraṅg is described differently in Meṣakarṇa's text: born from the eye of Sūrya, rides on white elephant, *vajra* (thunder) in hand, etc.

[26] Compare with plate C 16, Ebeling, *op.cit.*

[27] Compare with plate C 28, *ibid.*

Plate 1

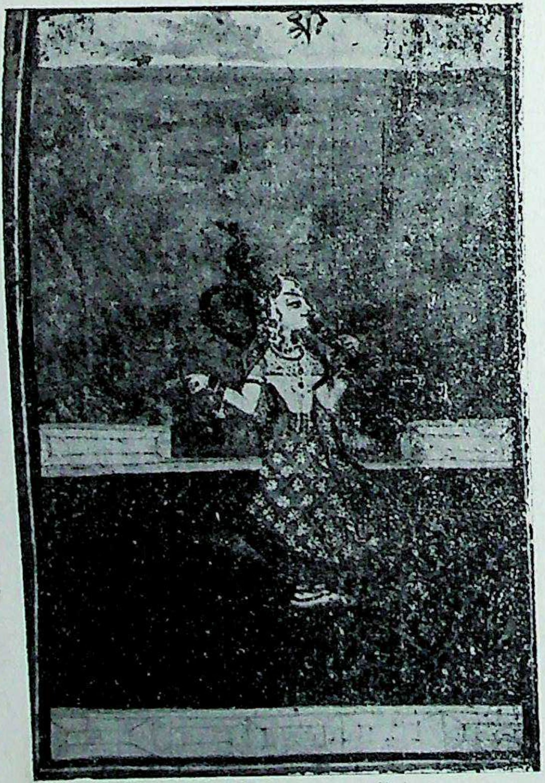

Fig. 1
Ṭoḍī Rāgiṇī of Dīpaka Rāga (no. 43)

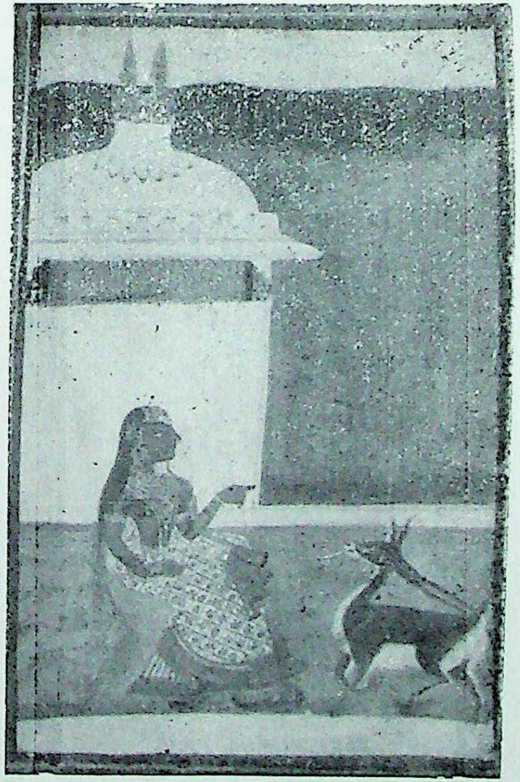

Fig. 2
Gauḍī Rāgiṇī of Śrī Rāga (no. 61)

Plate II

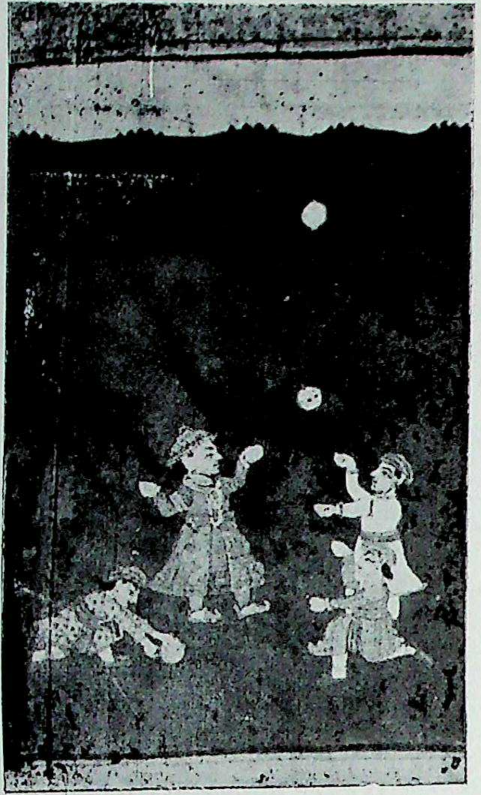

Fig. 3
Āinananda Rāgaputra of Mālkos
(no. 26)

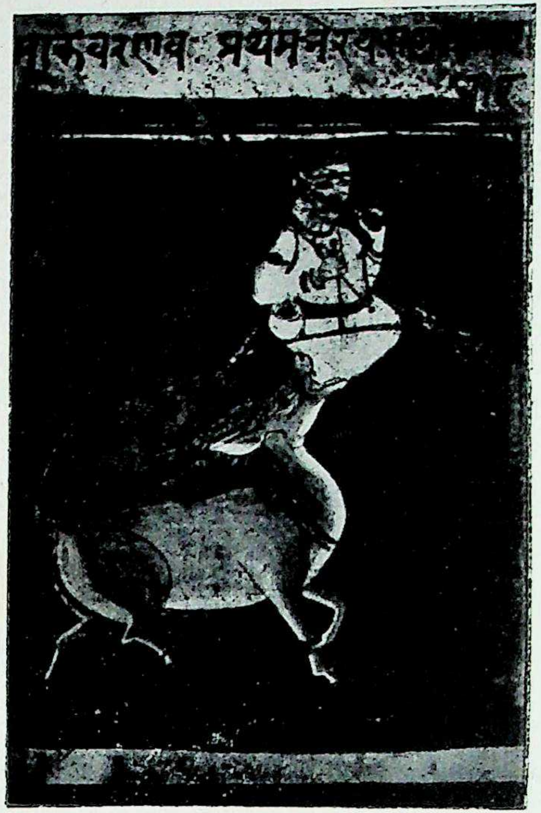

Fig. 4
Bhairava Rāga (no. 1)

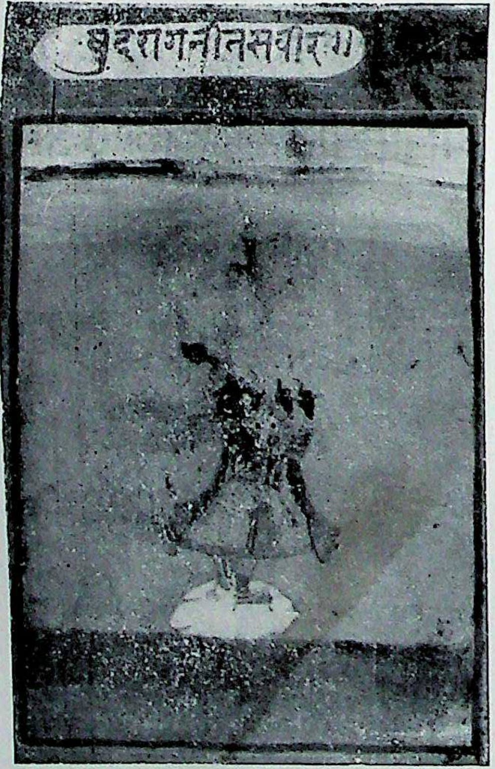

Fig. 5
Mālkos Rāga (no. 15)

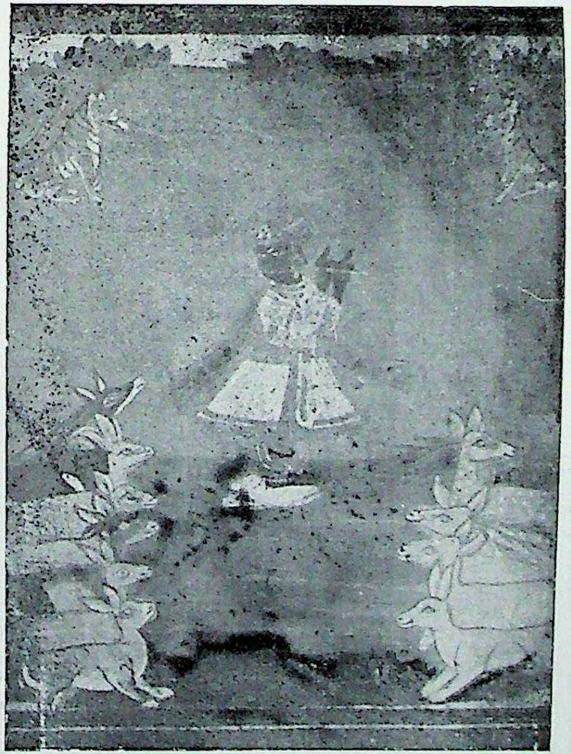

Fig 6
Jālandhara Rāgaputra of Megha (no. 78)

Plate IV

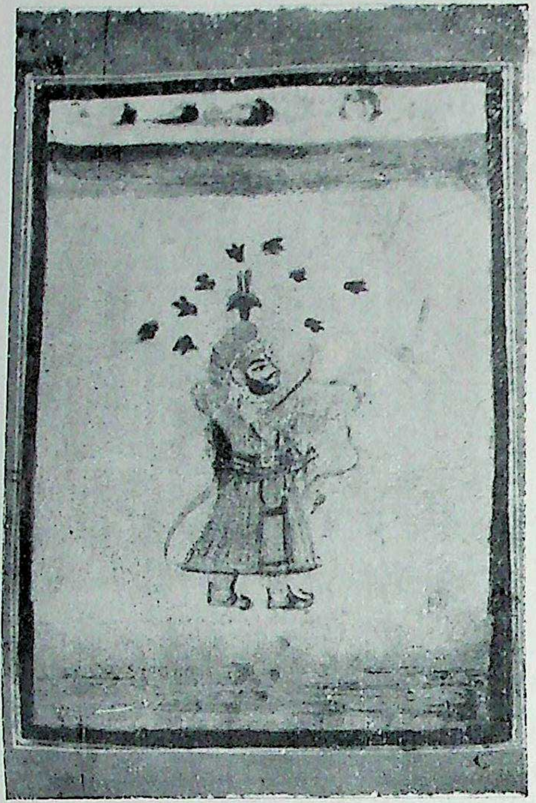

Fig 7
Hindola Rāga (no. 28)

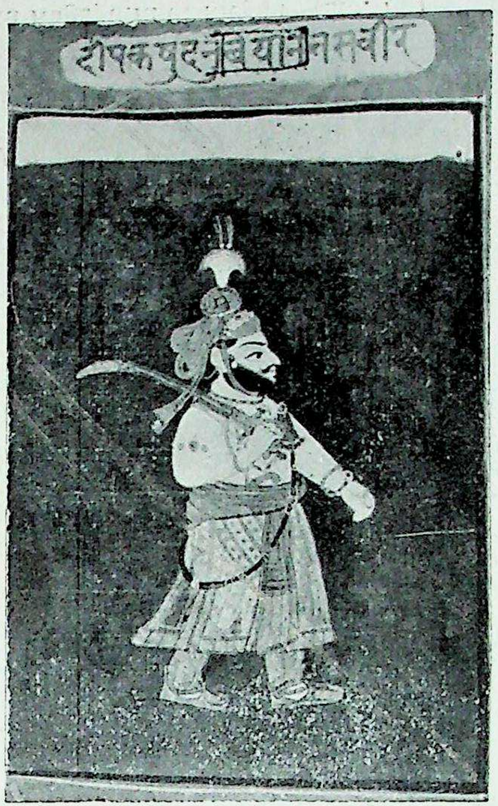
दीपकपुदनुबियांनसवीर

Fig. 8
Dīpaka Rāga (no. 42)

Plate V

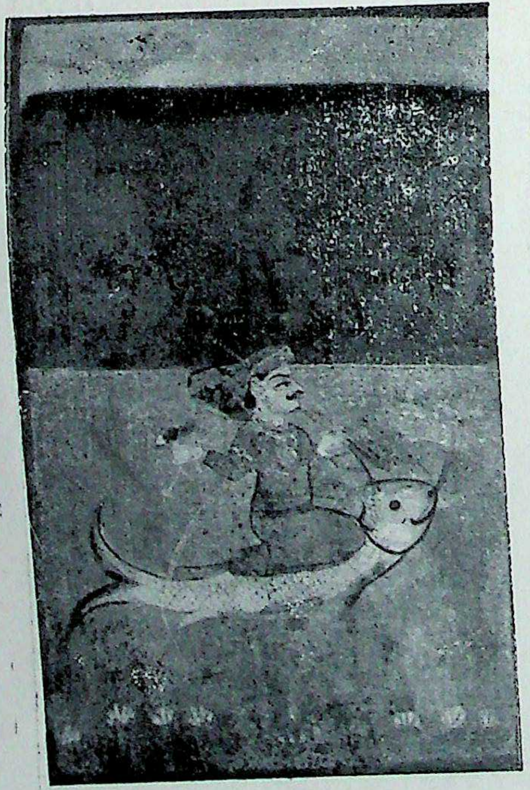

Fig. 9
Khatar Rāgaputra of Śrī Rāga
(no. 68)

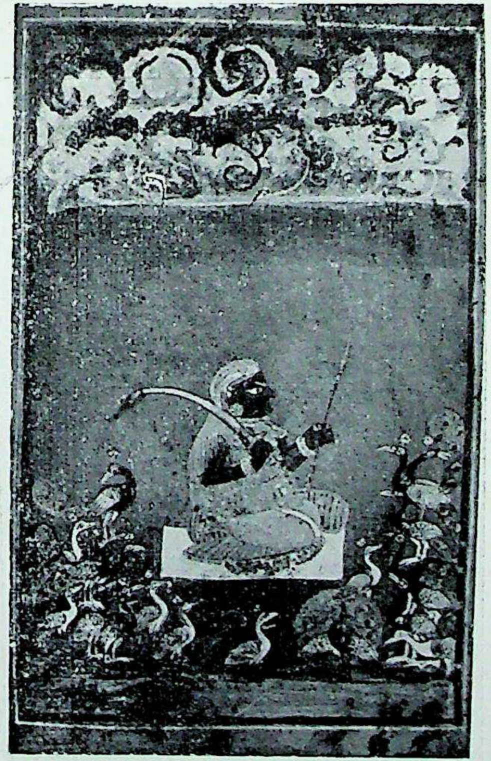

Fig. 10
Megha Rāga (no. 71)

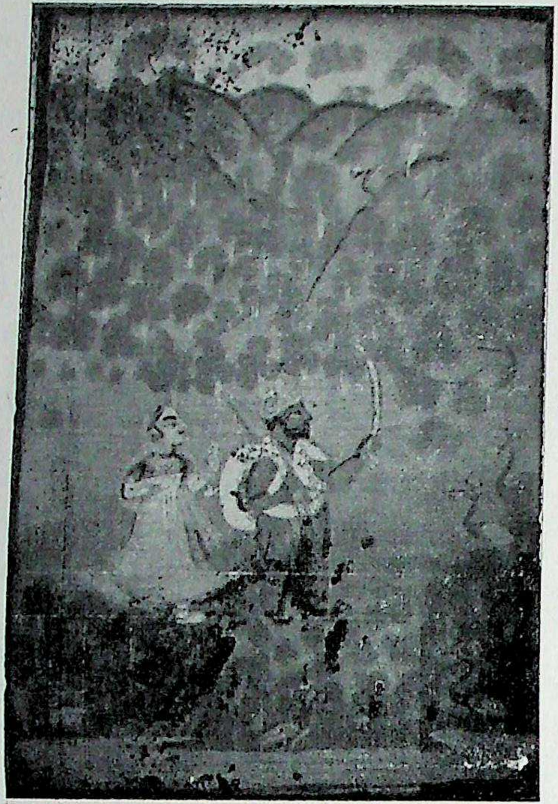

Fig. 11
Gudmalhār Rāgaputra of Megha (no. 77)

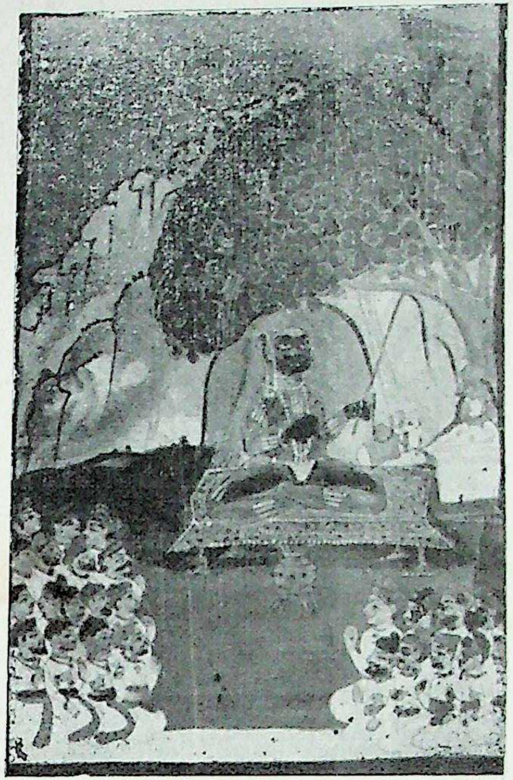

Fig. 12
Kedāro Rāgaputra of Megha (no. 80)

Plate VII

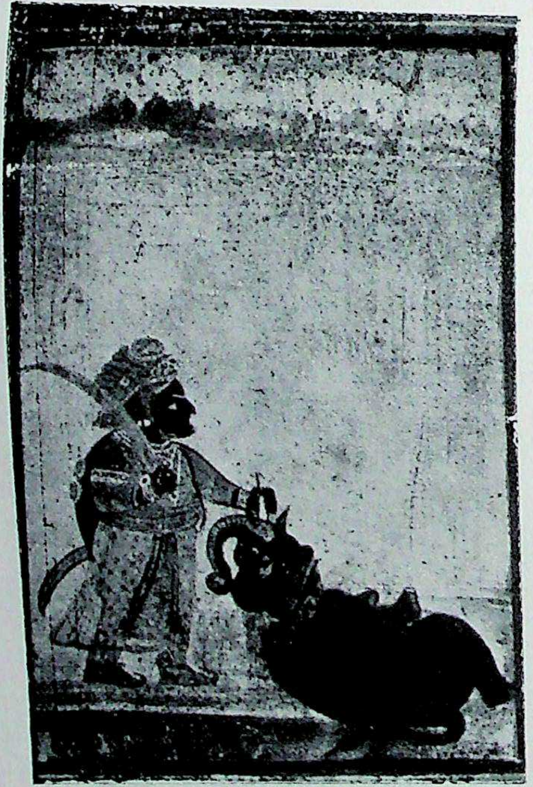

Fig. 13
Kānaḍo Rāgaputra of Megha (no. 81)

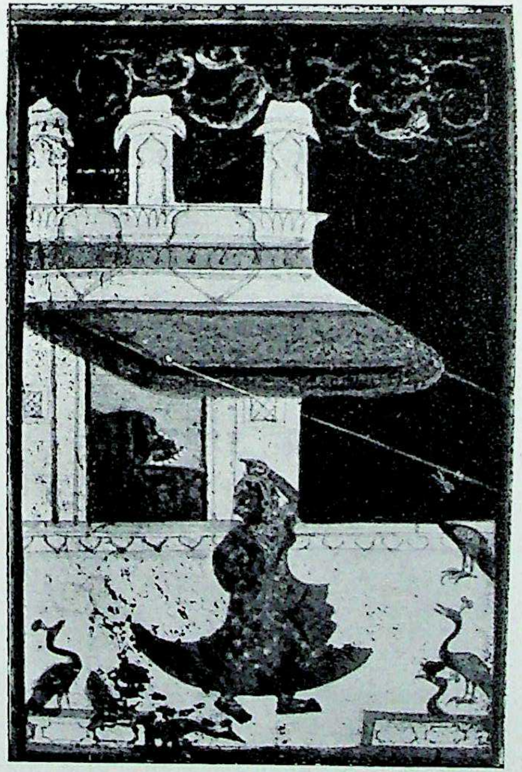

Fig. 14
Malhārī Rāgiṇī of Megha (no. 74)

Plate VIII

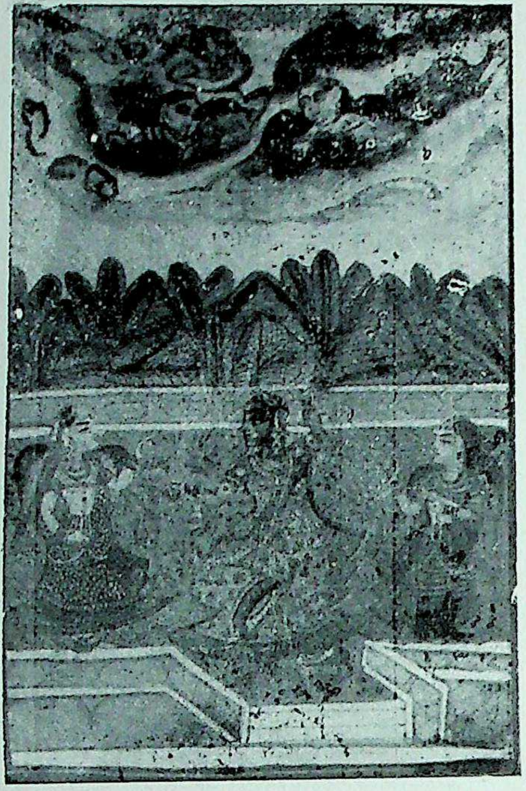

Fig. 15
Āsāvarī Rāgiṇī of Megha (no. 75)

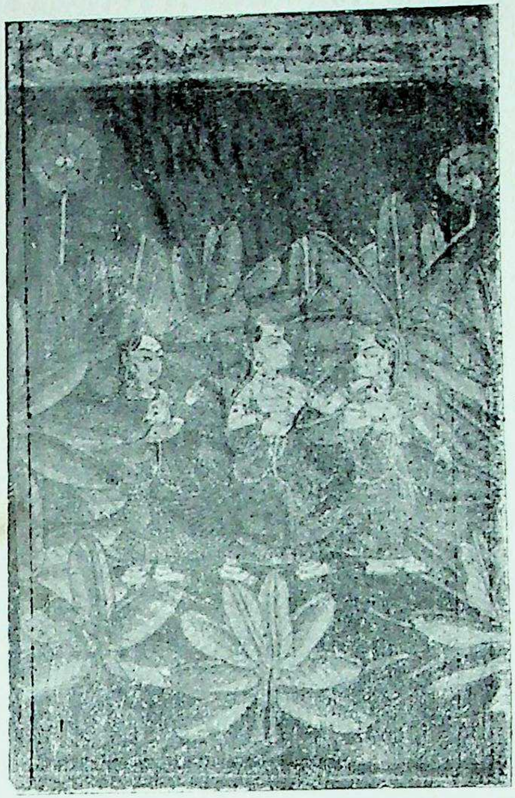

Fig 16
Gunakali Rāgiṇī of Mālkos (no. 16)

mentions the humming bees which are not depicted by the artist. Vibhas (no. 40) of the same family, has a different portrayal, not the usual one of lover shooting an arrow (or lotus stalk) toward a rooster.[28] It shows a richly costumed *rājā* with elaborate headgear, consisting of the turban surmounted by pearls and a chhatar, while a parrot is perched on his left hand. Dīpaka *Rāga* (no. 43), the description of which is missing, is shown as a strong bulky warrior holding a sword over his right shoulder. (Plate IV, Fig. 8). This imagery is repeated in Kālahangā *Rāgaputra*. This is in contrast to the usual portrayal of this *rāga* in which flame is necessarily present in a lovers bedroom or a *Rājā*'s divali procession.[29]

Śrī Rāga (no. 55) is portrayed as a simple representation of a seated lord on a terrace outside a pavilion, instead of a lord listening to musicians, one of whom may have a horse's head.[30] One of his six *rāgiṇīs* is Rāmakalī (no. 58) who belongs to Mālkos according to Rajasthani tradition, in which she is shown like a "*māninī*" *nāyikā*, who turns her face away as her lover pleads with her, on the other hand the Radhanpur artist portrays her engrossed in the contemplation of her deity.[31] She is green complexioned and seated under a canopy (*candarvo*). Śrī Rāga has an extra son also, that makes nine sons instead of the usual eight.[32] Mārū *Rāgaputra* (no. 63) is duplicated here with Mārū, *Rāgaputra* (no. 20) of Mālkos. The latter is a brave warrior holding a lance and stands in a garden of *Campā*. For no. 63 there is a very brief description in the text not clearly bringing out his personality. Here he is dressed with turban as the other wears a soldier's cap. Portrayal of Sandhū *Rāgaputra* (no. 62) is in unusual imagery. A courageous soldier wearing armour holding aloft a sword is riding on a horse. The white horse is prancing lifting up his fore legs whose head has been covered with what looks like a mask which combines horse's head with elephant's trunk. Yet another unusual imagery is that of Khatar *Rāgaputra* (no. 68). The man here is refered to as a singer as he rides on a fish holding *vīṇā* and cymbles in either hands. (Plate V, Fig. 9). This must be the only instance of a *rāga* personification shown astride an aquatic creature.

Surprisingly some of the pictorial compositions in the family of Megha rāga are the most outstanding. Megha (no. 71) himself is depicted not as the usual dancing male in rains but a dark green complexioned saint seated cross-legged, with long hair, holding sword and an arrow in each hand. (Plate V, Fig. 10).

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[28] Compare with plate C 40, *ibid.*

[29] Compare with plate C 24, c 25, *ibid.*

[30] Compare with plate C 42, *ibid.*

[31] Compare with plate C 14, *ibid.*

[32] The extra wife and extra son to Śrī Rāga in the Radhanpur *Rāgamālā* is consistent with the Sanskrit text of Meṣakarṇa as well as with that of the Persian *Muftāhusarūr.*

He is said to be the king of seven seas and the clouds. He is surrounded by peacocks and the sky is over cast with clouds.[33] Such forest dwellers and *bhil*-like characters are seen in several iconographies of Megha family. Gud malhār (no. 77) in the 36-set *Rāgamālā* is a *rāgiṇī* represented as a lady seated on a pad of lotus petals.[34] In the Radhanpur version his status is that of *Rāgaputra* portrayed as a *bhil* who is described in the text as one who resides in the Vindya mountains. (Plate VI, Fig. 11). He is dark complexioned, carrying game on his shoulders and holds bow in right hand and sword in the left. This hunter is accompanied by a fair-complexioned woman. Gund (no. 84) does not have a separate personality in the Rajasthani *Rāgamālā* where it is one of the synonyms of Gudmalhār. The Radhanpur artist has also portrayed it as a *bhil* following the written text. Meṣakarṇa's Sanskrit text characterises him as expert in hunting i.e. *kirata*. He is naked and dark complexioned, bow and arrow hanging around his shoulders, he remains standing as he worships *Śivaliṅga*, which is placed under a tree. This portrayal is of special sociological interest, i.e. a *bhil* worshipping *Śivaliṅga*.

Kedāro (no. 80) (*Rāgaputra* of Megha) in Radhanpur follows the usual imagery of the ascetic though in Rajasthan it is the *Rāgiṇī* of Megha. Its description here is also an example of " secularization ", as for example the seated ascetic is performing " *mauna* " which is explained thus " he remains quiet and does not speak to any person ". (Plate VI, Fig. 12). That he is in *samādhi* and concentrating on Śiva is described as " he remains engrossed day and night in the worship (using the persian word 'ibadat') of Śiva." *Kānaḍo* (no. 81) (also *Rāgaputra* of Megha) follows to some extent the usual iconography of a warrior having killed an elephant. (In Rajasthan it is the *Rāgiṇī* of Dīpaka). But in the Radhanpur version the entire emphasis is on this event so that the elephant whose size is reduced, is shown lying in a pool of blood with his severed head.[35] The worrior is standing nearby proudly like a hunter displaying his catch, though simple yet more action-filled portrayal. (Plate VII, Fig. 13).

Along with the reference to *Śaiva* worship as indicated above, another example of *Śaiva* imagery in the Radhanpur *Rāgamālā* is found in the representation of Candrahāsa (no. 23). *Rāgaputra* of Mālkos. Śiva has peacock feathers in his *jaṭā* and holds a flower in his right hand. Wide-eyed his expression is intense suggesting his " *ugra* " quality. (Meṣakarṇa's text describes a man wearing garland of serpent creepers round the neck).

Incorporating the motif of the dancing woman as *Rāgamālā* imagery is another feature of this set of paintings. One of them is Śriharī, no. 33, *Rāgiṇī* of Hindola, the description of which implies that she is "*cañcala*". She cannot stand still at one place and she suddenly bursts into dance. Her dance is given the simile with "lightning". In Rajasthan it is the *Rāgiṇī* of Dīpaka and has alternative names of Purabi and Desvarāti.[36] She is described as a lady holding her arms over the head and twisting her body, which is indirectly implying a dance *karaṇa*. Gāndhārī (no. 17). *Rāgiṇī* of Mālkos, is in similar dance posture with her right hand raised high. In no. 17 two female attendants on either side of the principal dancing figure are standing in a horizontal row. In no. 33 there is a variation where the two accompanying females are placed at bottom and right hand side of the dancing lady. The same dance posture is repeated in Devagiri no. 31, *Rāgiṇī* of Hindola, the iconography of which consists of a solitary dancing woman. But the most significant *Rāgiṇī* painting portraying her as a dancing female is Malhārī, no. 74, of Megha family. Her left hand is raised and right hand placed on her hip. (Plate VII, Fig. 14). She seems to be stamping her right foot on the floor. It is a very characteristic hip-swinging *karaṇa* of *kathak* dance as a result of which her skirt is flowing, contributing to the effect of continuous movement. Dancing girl in identical posture and full of verve is also the iconography of Karṇāṭī (no. 57) *Rāgiṇī* of Śrī Rāga. However, the backgrounds and settings of both are different. The dancing figure occurs in Āsāvarī too (no. 75). She is balanced on her left leg, as she raises her left hand she extends the right hand and lifts her right leg. (Plate VIII, Fig. 15). Two winged female figures are flanking her as two winged angels hover above among the clouds in the sky. A screen of plantain trees is placed behind her. The iconography of this *Rāgaṇī* is a significant deviation from the usual representation of her in Rajasthani painting where she is a forest woman feeding milk to snakes.[37] However in conformity with above, Āsāvarī in Radhanpur *Rāgamālā* also continues to be the *Rāgiṇī* of Megha.

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[33] Compare with plate C 33, Ebeling, *op. cit*. Meṣakarṇa's text says that he sings for the pleasure of the " lotus heart " of peacocks which in Radhanpur translation is implified to read that peacocks move around him.

[34] Plate C 36, Ebeling, *op. cit*.

[35] Compare with plate C 29, *ibid*. Meṣakarṇa's text has no mention of elephant killing

It is pertinent to compare the iconography of Radhanpur *Rāgamālā* with the other known *Rāgamālā* paintings based on Meṣakarṇa's iconography. The major set of such paintings to be fully documented is published by E and R. Waldschmidt who identify it as having been painted in Bilaspur c. 1750.[38] The artist of this Pahari school set of paintings besides following the individual personified descriptions from the *Rāgamālā* text also took the rather unusual recourse of basing his imagery on the parallels that are given in Meṣakarṇa's text comparing each *Rāga* or *Rāgiṇī* with animal voices. It must be the only group of *Rāgamālā* paintings using such pictorial imagery in which the relevant animal refered to is depicted along with a male or female figure e.g. braying of an ass is given as the counterpart of Gauḍī Rāgiṇī and thus an ass is drawn near a seated woman.[39] The artist of the Radhanpur *Rāgamālā* has not attempted such portrayal but occasionally images from the animal world are included in the pictorial representations. In the Radhanpur set a deer is approaching a seated lady in the Gaudi Rāgini of *Śrī Rāga* (Fig. 2) rather than the ass. In the portrayal of Hindola Rāga (Fig. 7) bees are shown buzzing around the bow drawn by the warrior, which tallies with Meṣakarṇa's text.[40] In Megha Rāga (Fig. 10) and Malhāri Rāgini of Megha (Fig 14) texts mention singing and crying of peacocks as the source of these musical modes, thus peacocks are depicted in these musical paintings.[41] Following the texts, a parrot is portrayed perched on the index finger of the dancing woman in Āsāvari Rāgini of Megha (Fig. 15) as this musical mode is likened to the singing of this bird. The pictorial representation of Khatar Rāgaputra of *Śrī Rāga* from the Radhanpur *Ragamaia* (young man riding on fish—Fig. 9) tallies with Meṣākarṇa's description of Gambhira Rāgaputra, who is described as riding on a *makara* as the latter is reciting this melody.[42] In the painting of Jālandhara Rāgaputra of Megha (Fig. 6) the presence of animals occurs due to the analogy given with Kṛṣṇa. Although the Radhanpur text refers to the hypnotic effect of his flute on the animals, Meṣakarṇa's text refers to Kṛṣṇa's lifting of the mount Govardhana episode, under which he provided shelter to cows, women etc.[43] Interestingly, the position of Kṛṣṇa in the Radhanpur painting reminds of the familiar compositions of Kṛṣṇa lifting Govardhana. But instead of cows on either side of Kṛṣṇa, the Radhanpur artist has depicted the deer. The lions above suggest the wild animals on the top of the mountain.

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[36] See *ibid.*, p. 18.

[37] Compare plate—c 46, in *ibid.*

[38] E and R Waldschmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 85-100. Another but aesthetically superior set of Pahari Ragamala paintings belonging to Basohli school is in the collection of Col. Raj K. Tandon, Hyderabad, who has just completed a book on it which is in press. A few folios are already published in The Ragamala Paintings from Basohli, Lalit Kala Series Portfolio No. 20, New Delhi, which contains a short introduction by Shri Tandon himself.

III

The British gazetters do not mention that Radhanpur was also an important Jaina centre. From Jaina sources we know that Jainism flourished in this town and from 16th century onwards activities of building Jaina temples and installation of Jaina deities are recorded.[44] One of the earliest installed Jaina deity in bronze is dated in the [illegible] century. There may have also been a Jaina style of painting practised in [illegible]adhanpur but no evidence of it has come to light.

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[39] Plate C 59, Ebeling, *op. cit.*

[40] Waldschmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 132-133.

[41] *Ibid.* p. 126.

[42] *Ibid.* p. 122-123.

[43] *Ibid.* p. 133.

[44] See Muni Vishalvijaya, editor, *Shri Radhanpur Pratimālekhasandoha*, Bhavnagar, 1960. p. 24.

although written manuscripts date from 17th century.[45] But it is significant that a *Vijñaptipatra* from Jodhpur had been sent to Radhanpur in 1811 A D.[46]

However the style of the paintings in our manuscript does not betray the typical Jaina qualities of its best phase. There do not seem to be any links with the regional Gujarat style of 18th and 19th century which has been termed as a later form of Sirohi school, characteristics of which prevailed in many parts of Gujarat.[47] This so called Sirohi style in Gujarat can be called "hybrid" because of the elements of Jaina, Rajasthani and Mughal painting that comprise it and to my mind the following features make it "retarditaire". This style of paintings have prominent outlines almost to the point of not integrating with colour, in the profile faces the eyes are stark and conspicuous. The painters avoid depiction of space and thus the predilection of arranging figures in horizontal rows prevails. The artists' limitations are obvious, diminishing the aesthetic value of these paintings.

The style of the paintings in our manuscript does not share any of the above mentioned features. They are more akin to that of Mewar or Udaipur style of the late 18th and 19th centuries as is found in the recently discovered paintings from Deogarh Thikana and also the surviving paintings from Kotah.[48] The paintings of the Radhanpur *Rāgamālā* are mostly the work of a single artist revealing a single "hand" and a single "mind" due to the consistently maintained features like figure types, the attitude to pictorial space. Apparently he was a competent artist which is testified by the uniform quality that is maintained through all the 84 paintings. He has been sufficiently innovative in his compositions, figural groupings, landscape and architectural settings as well as the colour schemes. His understanding of landscape elements is remarkable as can be guaged by his delineation of trees, birds, animals and in particular clouds. The latter are very sensitively depicted especially in the sky portions of many paintings from the Megha family where thin washes of water colour are allowed to spread freely as in "action painting". The clouds really appear as if they are heavily laden with moisture which they are soon going to pour down as rain. The tree types and their foliage are treated in linear fashion resembling Kotah paintings. This is obvious if plantain trees of Radhanpur are compared with the modelled plantain leaves in Bundi paintings. (Plate VIII, Fig. 16). The trees have also been depicted by dabs of paint applied by means of rags. Both these practices for the depiction of clouds and trees are pointers to the Radhanpur artist's links with the ateliers of Deogarh, Udaipur and Kotah.[49] There is a strong ground to believe that the Radhanpur court engaged an artist from this " circle " rather than a local artist painting in the Sirohi/Marwar style. Probably the Radhanpur court had fraternal relations with the above mentioned ruling houses.

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[45] *Ibid.*, p. 50-51.

[46] Cat. No. 556, *Treasures of Jaina Bhandaras*, edited by U. P. Shah, Ahmedabad, 1978. Although this particular *Vijñaptipatra* is not illustrated in this book but an illustration from cat no. 556 **is** published in it from another *Vijñaptipatra* painted in Jodhpur in the year 1825 A.D. from which the style of the former can be infered. (illustrations No. 139, 140).

[47] This nomenclature is used by U. P. Shah in *op. cit.*, p. 49-50.

[48] See (i) Andhare S. K., *Painting from the thikana of Deogarh*, Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, No. 10,(1967).
(ii) Beach Milo C., *Painting at Devgarh*, Archives of Asian Art, XXIV, 1970-71.
(iii) Ratan Parimoo, *More Paintings from Deogarh Thikana* (in Press) (Lalitkala, No. 20).

Further observations in support of the above contentions are given below. The Radhanpur artist adopted the conspicuous slim and slender female figure type nearer to those in the contemporary Kotah paintings in contradistinction to the round bodied sensuous Bundi types. The fan like hem of the ghaghra of Radhanpur female types (as in Toḍī, Nayanagi) recall the similar feature in Deogarh paintings.[50] The Radhanpur artist preferred a straight-nosed profile rather than acquiline or curved profile so much evident in the paintings of Chokha.[51] Such profile faces are consistently found in male, female and in the boy like figures. A number of *Rāga*s portrayed as masculine figures have a quality very similar to the portrait figures of Deogarh thikana, namely Kālahaṅgā (no. 52), Vibhāsa (no. 39), Dīpaka (no. 42) all appearing as taking a step forward, and the warrior figure in Kanado (no. 81). They have a masculinity and vigour like that of the massively built Deogarh rulers as portrayed by Chokha.[52]

Although the Radhanpur painter shares with the other Rajasthani schools the ambiguity towards pictorial space yet his approach to space has its own lucidity, complexity and consistency. One of the devices is the patterned floor rising half way and dividing the page in two parts, the lower half serving as floor (thus foreground) and the upper half as sky (i. e. distance or background). Such a device has also been used by Deogarh painters. Whenever the Radhanpur artist depicted floor covernings he rarely repeated the same patterns. Besides the above device a variation on it can be observed where instead of the carpetted floor, there is a suggestion of outdoor space, the foreground appears as some sort of lawn which merges into the sky. Then one can also notice the device of the figures surrounded by groves of trees arranged literally in front of the figure, on either side and behind. Sometimes a solitary tree is depicted under which is placed a seated or standing male or female figure. A variation on it is the suggestion of terrace on the foreground and a screen of trees at the back. The carpeted floor or terrace in the foreground would have a background plane of architecture, showing a part of a building like a pavilion or tower on a terrace or like a courtyard consisting of a colonade forming a screen. An interesting spatial tension is created in these paintings as the vertically aligned planes which are essentially parallel to each other assume connotations of near and distant positions. Together with the costume, carpetting, architectural details, curtains, wall hangings and other paraphernelia, an aspect of the leisurely and refined aristorcratic life style is evoked in these settings.

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[49] For painting in Bundi and Kotah see Milo C. Beach, *Rajput painting at Bundi and Kotah*, 1975, Switzerland. The similarity with the clouds in Deogarh paintings from Baroda is very significant.

[50] Andhare, *op. cit.*, Plate 51.

[51] Beach Milo C., Painting at Devgarh.

[52] Parimoo, *op. cit.*

Compared to the larger format in which the Kotah, Udaipur and Deogarh artists could work, the Radhanpur artist was facing the constraint of a limited page size. He nesessarily had to resort to simplification, like the avoidence of modelling and not to clutter the space with too many things or colour compartments, yet creating enough compositional, spatial and chromatic variations which are neither stereotype nor too common place, establishing his remarkable resourcefulness.

Thus the Radhanpur *Rāgamālā* has many significances. It is probably the last example of a *Rāgamālā* set of paintings full of vitality in contrast to the very pedestrain paintings of musical modes produced elsewhere in the 19th century e.g. at Jaipur.[53] It is also the only literal portrayal of Meṣakarṇa's system in Gujarat within the restrictions imposed by textual variations due to the process of translations. This Gujarati text has enabled to focus attention on the existence of a Persian version of Meṣakarṇa's text, namely *Muftāhusarūr*, which has not been listed in any published lists of musical texts so far.[54] It can also be presumed that since the Persian translation was made in Deccan, that Deccani *Rāgamālā* paintings following the Meṣakarṇa's system, may have actually derived their iconography from its Persian version i.e. *Muftāhusarūr*.[55]

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[53] For 19th Century Jaipur *Rāgamālā* Paintings, See Ebeling, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

[54] See foot-note 13.

As far as I could check, *Muftāhusarūr*, is neither mentioned by Gongoly, *op. cit.*, nor Waldschmidt, *op. cit.*, and not by Ebeling, *op. cit.* It is also not mentioned in what is probably the most comprehensive listing of *Rāgamālā* manuscripts; Rasiklal Maneklal Pandya, *Saṅgitamen Rāgamālā Ke Grantha, Singita*, Vol. 28, no. 4 April, 1962, Hathras, U.P. This article was pointed out to me by Miss Shubhada Desai, Lecturer in Music, M. S. University of Baroda.

[55] E.g. the Deccani *Rāgamālā*, Fig. 101 to 1110, Set 84 in Ebeling, *op. cit.*, p. 204. Incidentally these drawings resemble those which are in the National Museum copy of the text of Muftāhusarūr referred to in foot-note 13.

Note : (Blocks have been prepared by Shri Mahesh S. Deshpande, Lecturer in Process, Faculty of Fine Arts, M. S. U. Baroda.)

Comparative Chart of Rāga families

Painter's system	Hanumat's system	Meṣakarṇa's system (Oriental Institute Manuscript)		Rādhanpur Rāgamālā.
1 *Bhairav*				
Wives :				
Bhairavī	Madhumādhavī	Bangālī	2	Bangālī
Naṭa	Bhairavī	Bhairavī	3	Bhairavī
Mālaśrī	Bangālī	Velāvalī	4	Bilāvalī
Paṭmañjarī	Varāṭī	Puṇyākī	5	Punākī
Lalita	Saindhavī	Snehakī	6	Nayanagī
Sons :		Vaṁgāla	7	Pañcama
		Pañcama	8	Bangālo
		Madhu	9	Madhu
		Harśa	10	Mādhava
		Deśakha	11	Lalita
		Lalita	12	Desākha
		Velāvala	13	Harmidha
		Mādhava	14	Bilāvala
15 *Mālkos*		(Malakauśika)		
Wives :				
Gaurī	Toḍī	Guṁḍagrī	16	Guṇakalī
Khambāvatī	Khambāvati	Gāndhāriṇī	17	Gāndhārī
Mālavī	Gaurī	Śrīhathī		Badhālī [Neither described nor painted]
Rāmakalī	Guṇakrī	Andhreyakī	18	Dhanāsrī
Guṇakali	Kakubha	Dhanyāśri	19	Śrinatī
Sons :		Māru	20	Mārū
		Mewāḍā	21	Bhanora
		Barbalī	22	Ghoghara
		Miśṭāṅga	23	Candrahāsa
		Candrakāya	24	Mustāṅga
		Bharmāra	25	Bardhala
		Nandana	26	Aīnananḍa
		Khokhara	27	Mewāḍā

Painter's system	Hanumat's system	Meṣakarṇa's system (Oriental Institute Manuscript)	Rādhanpur Rāgamālā
28 *Hindola*			
Wives :			
Bilāvala	Vilāval	Taileṅgī	29 Abhīrī
Toḍī	Rāmakirī	Devagirī	30 Nilakā
Desakha	Desākho	Vāsantī	31 Devagirī
Deva-gandhāra	Paṭmañjarī	Sindhūrī	32 Vāsantī
Madhu-mādhavī	Lalita	Ābhirī	33 Śriharī or Purabī
Sons :		Maṅgala	34 Maṅgala
		Candrabimba	35 Chandranaṭa
		Śubhrāṅga	36 Subharāṅga
		Ānanda	37 Ānaṅdara
		Vibhāsa	38 Vasanta
		Vardhana	39 Vibhāsa
		Vasanta	40 Barahana
		Vinoda	41 Rāibinoda
42 *Dīpaka*			
Wives :			
Dhanāśrī	Kedārī	Kamodinī	[missing from the manuscript]
Vasanta	Kanaḍā	Paṭamañjari	
Kanaḍā	Desī	Toḍī	43 Toḍī
Bhairāḍī	Kamoḍī	Gujarī	44 Gāvī
Desvarātī (Purabī)	Naṭa	Kāchhelī	45 Gujarī
Sons :		Kamala	46 Campaka
		Kusuma	47 Phula
		Rāma	48/49 Bhamāla [Repeated in two versions]
		Kuntala	50 Kantala
		Kaliṅga	51 Kosavanta
		Bahula	52 Kālahaṅgā
		Campaka	53 Rāma
		Hemala	54 Khimala

Painter's system	Hanumat's system	Meṣakarṇa's system (Oriental Institute Manuscript)	Rādhanpur Rāgamālā
55 *Srī Rāga*			
Wives :			
Gujarī	Vasanta	Vairāṭī	56 Patarāti
Guḍmlār	Māru (Mālavi)	Karṇaṭakī	57 Karnāṭī
Kakubha	Mālaśri	Gauḍī	58 Rāmgirī (or Rāmkalī)
Vibhāsa	Dhansika	Sāverī	59 Sandhurī
Bangāla	Āsāvarī	Rāmagirī	60 Sanupurī
		Saindhavī	61 Gaudī
Sons :		Sindhūra	62 Sandhū
		Mālawa	63 Mārū
		Gauḍī	64 Garsano
		Gambhīra	65 Gauḍa
		Guṇasāgara	66 Aktara
		Vihāgaḍa	67 Kalāna
		Kalyāṇa	68 Khatara
		Kumbha	69 Guṇḍsāgara
		Guṇḍa	70 Bihāgdo
71 *Megha*			
Wives :			
Pañcama	Mallāra	Mallārī	72 Suratī
Kāmoda	Desakāri	Soraṭhī	73 Ahirī
Setmalāra	Bhupālī	Suhāvī	74 Malhārī
Āsāvarī	Gurjarī	Āsāvarī	75 Āsāvarī
Kedāra	Taṅka	Kokaṇī	76 Guḍmalhāra
Sons :		Naṭa	77 Guḍmalhāra
		Kanarā	78 Jālandhara
		Sāraṅga	79 Naṭnārāyaṇa
		Kedāra	80 Kedaro
		Guṇḍa	81 Kanaḍo
		Guṇḍamalhāra	82 Sāraṅga
		Jālandhara	83 Śaṅkarābarana
		Śaṅkara	84 Guṇḍa

THE HŪṆAS IN INDIAN LITERATURE

By

M. D. AQUIQUE, Bodh-Gaya

The story of relations between the Indian and western civilisation in ancient times is indeed the fascinating story of a period of about a thousand years which begins in the first century B.C. with the establishment of the so-called Indo-scythian dominion and bears as its distinguishing mark the subjection of the extreme north-west of India to tribes which came from the regions of Central Asia. It was in that region that three great civilizations-the classical, the Indian and the Iranian-have crossed one another and have left their imperishable impress on the history of ancient world. The Persians, the Śaka-scythians, the Indo-Greeks, the Parthians and the Kuṣāṇas came and dominated the political scene of India for about five hundred years and the latter were followed by a more formidable and ferocious race who immediately succeeded them as conquerors in north-western India. They are commonly known as the Hūṇas or the white Huns or Ephthalites whose part in Indian history commenced from about the middle of the fifth century A.D. and continued for about a hundred years.

The great upsurge of the Hūṇas literally knocked the two great continents of Asia and Europe out of bottom, and paralysed the peaceful and cultured life of the millions of the people for a pretty long time. Like meteors they brilliantly shot up into the sky and soon vanished into nothingness. Born believers in blood and iron, the Hūṇas swooped down upon the plains of Asia and Europe and carried horrible deaths and devastations with them. Their violent outburst resembled something like volcanic eruption in the history of the human race, and like a veritable strain of lava, they issued forth from their homeland and "spread over Europe and Asia. Homeless and lawless they rode their horses awake and asleep. Their fierce yells spread terror wherever they were heard and they engaged all the civilized peoples of the world in fearful cataclysmic war".[1]

II

It was in the wake of their invasion of Persia that the Hūṇas first made their appearance on the Indian political scene. Defeated and subdued by Kubad, the Persian monarch, the Ephthalites diverted their attention elsewhere and consequently got deeply involved in Indian affairs. From the Chinese chronicles we learn that they commenced their career of conquest in this region by invading and capturing Gandhāra in north-western India in about 465 A.D. which was then ruled over by the Kuṣāṇas, either by Kidāra or one of his successors who had earlier been expelled from Bactria by the same Ephthalites at the time of the latter's conquest of Southern Turkistan. Their prolonged fight with the Persians had naturally brought them in close contact with the Indian borderland which then presented the spectacle of a house divided against itself—too vulnerable to escape the notice of a daring and conquering race like them. Thus, by the end of the fifth century A.D., the white Hūṇas came to stay as a potential factor to be reckoned with in Indian Politics. A close examination of all available evidences bearing on their origin enables us to conclude that the Hūṇas of Attila who dominated Europe and the White Hūṇas who subsequently happened to rule over the major portions of north-western and eastern India for sometime, were the two different off-shoots of the same race which traced their descent from the Turanian family of the Turks. In this connection, we have a very useful guide in the name ' Hūṇ ' itself as applied to the Ephthalites. The Byzantine historians probably had the European Hūṇas in their mind and employed the name in a generic sense, without any real ethnological ground, and Procopius, the first of these historians to use the term ' White Hūṇa ' lived fully a hundred years after the name of Attila's Hūṇas.[2]

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[1] *History and Culture of Indian People*, ed. Majumdar, R. C., Pusalkar A. D. and Sarkar A. K., Vol. iii, Intro. XV.

Further we have also to explain the singular use of the Sanskrit term Hūṇa to designate this people, if not on the ground that the name became familiar there just in consequence of the white Hūṇa inroad.

The earliest mention of this name we have in the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta during whose time the White Hūṇas made their first appearance in India. Yaśodharman also uses the term Hūṇa to designate the White Hūṇas in his Mandsor inscription,[3] which glorifies his triumph over Mihirakula. M. Specht in his note on the phonetic pronunciation of the name written as Hoa or Hoa-tun has convincingly suggested that the Chinese sources apply the name Hūṇ to the ye-tha or Ephthalites.[4] Thus, we find that there is a uniform application of the name Hūṇa or Hūṇ to the Ephthalites in Greek, India and Chinese records alike. It probably shows that the designation was current among the nation itself, which means that the Ephthalites stood in close ethnological connection with the European Hūṇas who also make their appearance in history just at the same time—a conclusion which is also confirmed by philology.

As noted above, the history of the Hūṇas in India is shrouded in obscurity though, we have numerous references to their activities in Indian literature as well as in epigraphic records belonging to different periods. The Chinese and the classical sources throw interesting light on the activities of the Hūṇas in those parts of the world but they (except Yuan Chawang's account) are almost silent on their movement, and activities in India. The Indian sources also do not enlighten us much on this point. They mention the Hūṇas off and on but give us no detailed picture of their activities.

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[2] Stein, M. A., Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, p. 89.

[3] Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. i, p. 393 ff.

[4] *Journal Asiatique*, 1883, p. 335.

The earliest mention of the Hūṇas we have, however, in the epics. In one of the *mss.* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Pahlavas and the Hūṇas have been mentioned side by side.[5] We have a similar reference to them in the *Mahābhārata*.[6] The *Sabhā-parva* presents the list of foreign tribes which include the Hūṇas, and the Chinas. The *Bhīṣmaparva* also mentions Hūṇas. Besides the Hūṇas, we have also a reference to the Hārahūṇa in the *Mahābhārata*.[7] It has been suggested that the word Hāra stands for the old Persian word, Karamir or Kharamir which means red or deep colour.[8] In other words, the Hārahūṇa means "red Hūṇa". In another account the "Karamīra Hyuon" and "Speta Hyuon" have been mentioned side by side. It is said that the Zoroastrians called their enemies who also included the Hūṇas "Karamīra" because their head-dress, shield and flag were all of red colour (Sukhra-Kulāha ut sukhra jena ut sukhra draphs).[9] It is, however, interesting to note that we have no mention of the red Hūṇas elsewhere, though the White Hūṇas or the Speta Hūṇas have been frequently referred to. In fact, the Hūṇas had nothing to do with the red colour. The Persian accounts probably confused them with other invading races who adopted red flag and red shield. This name was later borrowed by Indian authors from the Persian chroniclers and gradually found its mention in the *Mahābhārata*, and in no other works. Whatever the name, there was, however, no racial difference between the so-called Hārahūṇa and the Hūṇa. They were called White so that they could be distinguished from Hueng-nu proper. Thus the Hārahūṇa actually stands for the White Hūṇa or the Hūṇas in general who had invaded India.

Varāhamihira refers to both the Hūṇas and the White Hūṇas (*Śveta* hūṇa).[10] The *Mahāvastu*[11] also mentions them above with the Chinas while in the *Sabhāparva*[12] they are included in the list of the foreign tribes, in the *Bhīṣmaparva*[13] they are mentioned in relation to the Persians.

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[5] Cf. *Petersburg Dictionary*, iv, 40, 25.

[6] *Mbh* (cal.), i 6885; iii, 1991; vi, 373.

[7] *Ibid.* 2.309; 3.11.85.

[8] *Asiatica*, p. 12 ff (Festchrift Fr. Weller).

[9] *Ankalesakhiya*, *Bahaman-yasta* (ed., 6.3. In this connection it is important to note that we have mention of a tribe known as Tamraliptaka in the *Mahābhārata* (I. 147, 2. 120). They seem to have been so named probably due to their red or copperish colour. In the accounts of the Thang dynasty of China it is stated that the Tibetans had a peculiar custom of colouring their mouth with red colour (Sheffer, *Ethnography of Ancient India*, p. 134. For other details, see Buddhaprakasa, *Kālidāsa aura Hūṇa*, p. 46, fn. 79).

[10] *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* xi, 61.

[11] I. 135.

[12] ii. 51. 23-24; "... हारहूणांश्च कृष्णात् हैमवतांस्तथा"

[13] 9. 65-66; "...हूणाः पारसिकैः सह"

Coming to the *Purāṇas* we find that while they preserve detailed lists of kings belonging to different dynasties that flourished in ancient India, they are not so discreet in preserving the list of the Hūṇa kings who dominated the political scene of India for about a century. They[14] mention their name (Hūṇa) in their list of peoples along with the Yavanas, the Gāndhāras, the Sauvīras, the Mudrakas, the Kunindas, the Pāradas etc. The *Brahmāṇda Purāṇa* refers to the Hārahūṇa which also finds mention in the *Mahābhārata*. The Hārahūṇas were in fact the White Hūṇas who inhabited the Herat region. In the *Brahmāṇḍa*[15] and the *Vāyu Purāṇas*[16] we have the following reference :

"हूणा दर्वा: सहूदका:, हूणा दर्वा बहूदका:, हूणा दर्वा: सहूहुका "[17]

The *Viṣṇu* and *Kūrma Purāṇas*[18] also refer to the Hūṇas along with the Sauvīras and the Saindhavas. Of the different readings, however, the reading Hārahūṇa is supported by the *Mahābhārata*.[19] The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[20] suggests Hārahūra which is also supported by *Kāvyamīmāṁśa*.[21]

The Pāradas mentioned in the *Purāṇas* were the Parthians who lived in the Khorasan region. The Hārahūṇas or the Hārahūras were either a branch or the White Hūṇas themselves who are credited with having subjugated the entire area from Central Asia to Central India and beyond about the fifth century A.D. It has been suggested that the Hārahūras were living in the Herat region.[22] The *Purāṇas*, however, locate them in the eastern country.[23] According to them,

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[14] *MK*. Chaps. 57, 54, vv. 34-39; *Vāyu*, chap. 45, vv. 108-36; *Brahmāṇḍa*, chap. 49, vv. 44-71; *Matsya*, chap. 114, vv. 34-56; *Vāmana*, chap. 13, vv. 36-48. Also cf. Sachau, *Alb. Ind.*, i. pp. 299-300.

[15] Chap. 49, vv. 44-71.

[16] Chap. 45, vv. 109-36. We have the following different versions in the different *Purāṇas*:

"पारदा हारहूणाका" (*Brahmāṇḍa*), पारदा हारमूषिका: (*Mārk*); परिता हारपूरिका: (*Vāyu*); पारदा हारमूर्तिका: (*Matsya*); परेता हारमूषिका: etc.

[17] Here again we have different versions in the different *Purāṇas*:

उणा दार्वा: सकृत्रका; ऊर्णा दार्वा: सकृत्रका (*Mārk.*); हूणा दर्वा: लहूदका: (*Vāyu*); हूणा दर्वा: बहूदका: (*Brahmāṇḍa*); उर्णा दर्वा: समुद्गका (*Matsya*) or ऊर्णा दर्वा: समुद्गका: ऊर्णा प्लुष्टा: सदूदुका: (*Vāmana*) and हूणा दर्वा: सदूदुका: (*Vāyu*) etc.

[18] Cf. *Viṣṇu*, II, chap. 3, vv. 14-17; *Kūrma*, I, Chaps. 46-47; II, chap. 32, II, 12.

[19] xiv. 33.

[20] D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 24, fn. 4.

[21] Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, G.O.S. ed. Baroda.

[22] Matichandra, *Geog. Ec. Stud.*, p. 66, 27-28, 31-23.

[23] Cf. the following:

"कलूताश्चाहु (वादी?) काश्चैव ऊर्णा (हूणा?) दार्वास्तथैव च ।
एते देशा उदीच्यास्तु प्राच्यान् देशान् निबोधत" ॥
(Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 27, fn. 2).

"when the kingdom of the Āndhras has come to an end, there will be kings belonging to the lineage of their servants : 7 Āndhras and 10 Ābhīra kings, also 7 Gardabhins, 18 Śakas. There will be 8 Yavanas, 14 Tuṣāras, 13 Muruṇḍas and 11 Hūṇas"[24] The *Harṣacarita*[25] places the Hūṇas in the Uttarāpatha apparently somewhere about the Western Punjab, and the Dārva were people of Dārvābhisāra which roughly comprised the Punch and Naoshera regions between the Jhelum and the Chenab.[26]

In the account of the fifty-six countries mostly being the holy places lying in and on the borders of India, given in the *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* of the *Śaktisaṁgama Tantra*,[27] described from the pilgrims' point of view, the Hūṇa country is also mentioned. This list is also found in some other works mostly Tāntric and the majority of the localities are the *Śaiva* and *Śākta tirtha*s which definitely indicates Tāntric influence. The earliest work containing a list of fifty-six countries seems to be the *Candragarbhasūtra* or *Candrabhavaipulya*[28] which mentions them in connection with Buddha's manifestations in Jambudvīpa. Similar lists are also found in some other mediaeval Tāntric works, for instance, the *Sammoha Tantra* (composed before 1450 A.D.)[29] which gives two lists of the countries.[30] These lists place the Hūṇa-deśa to the south of the Kāmagiri and to the north of the Maru-deśa, i.e., the desert. and call it the land of the heroes. This list is further supported by the *Harṣacarita*, noted above, which places the Hūṇa country in the Punjab region, practically suggesting the same area. Thus, the Hūṇas or the Hārahūṇas of the *Mahābhārata* may be equated with the Himālayan people divided into various groups. *Strīrājya* was known to the *Mahābhārata* which lay between the Hūṇas and the Tańgana, i.e., in the trans-Himālayan countries,[31] also known to Varāhamihira and Kalhaṇa. Moreover, in the records of the Pratīhāras, the Kalacurīs and others we have a mention of the Hūṇa royal houses and they were ultimately recorded as one of the thirtysix clans of the Rajputs.

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[24] Pargiter, *DKA*, p. 72.

[25] Quoted *Ibid.*, p. 27, fn. 2.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *Śaktisaṁgama Tantra*, BK. III, Chap. vii. The work was composed sometime before 1744 A.D. (Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70; H. P. Shastri in *JBORS*. Vol. iv, pp. 14-25).

[28] Translated into Chinese by Narendrayśas in 566 A.D.

[29] P. K. Gode, *ABORI*, vol. xix, p. 184 ff.

[30] Cf. the following:

"ह्नो (ह) स्कलाः कुंतलहूनाः (णौ) कोंकणः केकयस्तथा ।
शूरसेतः कौरवाश्च सिंहलाश्च पुलिंदका (काः) ॥

(in the first list).

" मलारश्चैव पानाशः पावाधान्धक (?) पुलिन्दकः (काः) ।
हु (हू) णकौरवगान्धारविदर्भाः सविदेहका (काः) ॥

(in the second list, quoted Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 71).

The *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* (BK. III, Chap. vii, vv. 43-44) says:

" कामगिरिं समारभ्य द्वारकान्तं महेश्वरि ।
श्रीकुन्तलाभिधो देशो हूणं श्रृणु महेश्वरि ॥
कामगिरेर्दक्षभागे मरुदेशात्तथोत्तरे ।
हूणदेशः समाख्यातः शूरास्तत्र वसन्ति हि " ॥

(*Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga*).

The Hūṇas figure prominently in the list of the countries preserved in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* which are described as having been conquered and subdued by Raghu in the course of his *digvijaya*[32]. The description in the *Raghuvaṁśa* was imitated by a later *praśastikāra* at the Paramāra court who describes the Paramāra king Laksmadeva as having defeated Anga and Kalinga in the east, Cola and Pāṇḍya as far as the Tāmraparṇi river in the south, with a difference that the Hūṇas have been substituted here by the Turuṣkas[33] who probably signified the Hūṇas in his time.

From the description of Kālidāsa it is clear that the north-west and the northern lands beyond were held by the Pāraśikas, the Hūṇas and the Kambojas.[34] In other words, in the time of Kālidāsa the Hūṇas were settled in the Doab formed by the tributaries of the Oxus to whicn Kṣīrasvāmī also attests[35] and had not reached the confines of India proper during this time, a fact which is also confirmed by the history of the Oxus region itself wherein we have no mention of the Hūṇas from about second century B.C. to the third century A.D. Their presence in that region during this period is not supported by any evidence whatsoever. Their mention in the *Raghuvaṁśa* clearly indicates that they made their presence felt in the region and outside by the fourth century A.D. and not before. In the *Sabhāparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, we have a detailed description of Arjuna's conquests in the north-western regions where the Vāhīkas, the Daradas, the Kambojas, the Lohas, the Parama Kambojas and the Ṛṣikas are said to have fought against him.[36] And the Hūṇas have not been referred to in this connection.

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[31] *Mbh.* III, 51; xii, 4. 114.

[32] *Raghuvaṁśa*, canto iv, vv. 67-68:

"विनीताध्वश्रमास्तस्य वंक्षु (सिंधु)तीरविचेष्टनैः ।
दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धांल्लग्नकुंकुम–केसरान् ॥
तत्र हूणावरोधानां भर्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम् ।
कपोलपाटलादेशि (कपोलपाटनादेशि) बभूव रघुचेष्टितम् " ॥

[33] Cf. The Nagpur *Praśasti* of Naravarmadeva (1104-05 A.D.) in *EI*, ii, p. 188.

[34] *Raghuvaṁśa*, canto iv, 67-69.

[35] K. G. Oka's edition, p. 110; *Raghuvaṁśa*, iv. 67.

[36] *Mbh.* 2.27. 22-24.

On the basis of the above evidences it may be suggested that, there was no Ephthalite settlement in India proper upto 500 A.D., though they had by this time settled down in the Oxus region as a powerful political force, whence they often directed their devastating raids on the Indian soil. Their empire in 500 A.D. comprised Tokhāristān, Kābulistān and Zabulistān but included no part of India proper. Their advance was restricted by King Feruz of Persia but on his death in 484 A.D., they moved forward, stormed the region in the further east and established their headquarters at Herat. Their movement always carried with it the horrors of death and terrible devastations reflecting their demoniac ruthlessness. They completely destroyed the Kuṣāṇa power in the north-east, overwhelmed the kingdom of Gandhāra, made it their base and finally started on their long cherished mission of conquering India. The story of their fights and consequent occupation of a part of India, though transitory in nature, constitutes a very significant chapter in the history of ancient India, for they played no insignificant part in this land and growing from a very dubious origin in a distant land, they succeeded in establishing a very big empire from Central Asia to the confines of Magadha, if not more.

THE CONCEPT OF ŚŪNYA IN THE GURU GRANTHA

By

RAJ KUMAR ARORA, Chandigarh

Introduction :

The concept of *śūnya* is very old in Indian thought. Its reference is available in the *Mahābhārata*. This text[1] while describing the thousand names of Viṣṇu, refers to *śūnya* as one of them. Śaṅkara[2] maintains that *Viṣṇu* is *śūnya* because He is devoid of all qualities. In various schools of Buddhism we come across pointed references of this term in a variety of ways. " The term *śūnya* is variously understood. To some it means nothingness, to others a permanent principle, transcendent, indefinable, immanent in all things. The former is true of the world of experience, the latter of metaphysical reality.[3] It is further mentioned, " It cannot be called void or not void. "[4] In the *Dohā kośa* there are also several references to *śūnya*. Here is a clear mention of four gradations of *śūnya* like *śūnya*, *ati śūnya*, *mahāśūnya* and *sarvaśūnya* in some yogic texts.[5] Gorakha Natha[6] refers to three kinds of *śūnyas*. Dadu[7] in his hymns makes mention of the four kinds but their names are different from Gorakha Nath. A text attributed to certain yogic cults gives reference to seven kinds of *śūnyas*, " There are seven kinds of *śūnya*s, of which the six are impure and contain the seeds of phenomenalism, whereas the seventh is the Supreme Reality, which is Pure Being, and Consciousness and is free from all the *Vikalpa*. "[8] The Jainas[9] also borrowed some non-Jaina concepts like *śūnya* and preached them in their doctrines. In the *Dharma* cult of Bengal *śūnya*[10] also found much prominence. " This *śūnya* was made much use of also in the yogic literature of the Muslims of Bengal.[11] " " Thus we find that the concept of *śūnya* was widely preached by various cults and creeds, both Buddhists and non-Buddhists. It was *Mahāyāna*

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[1] Quoted from, Bharati, Dharam Vir; *Siddha Sāhitya*; Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, ed. 1968, p. 336.

[2] *Ibid.*, 337.

[3] Radha Krishnan, *Indian Philosophy*; Vol. 1, George Allen and Unwin, London, ed. 1971, p. 662.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 663.

[5] Bagchi, P. C.; Culcutta Sanskrit Series, 1935, pp. 175. 177, 179.

[6] Barthwal, P. D., *Gorakha Bānī*; Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad, ed. 1945, p. 194.

[7] Sen, Kshitimohan; *Dādu Dayāl Kī Bānī*; Belvader Press, Allahabad, ed. 1941, p. 51.

[8] Kabir Bani, *Bodh Sagar* (II), p. 55.

[9] Ram Singh, *Pahur Dohā*, Karanjar, 1933, p. 64.

[10] *Śūnya Purāṇa* is one of their important text.

[11] Dasgupta, S. B., *Obscure Religious Cults*: Calcutta University, ed. 1946, p. 286.

Buddhism which gave great prominence to it in its teachings and practices. Later on, it filtered down to the doctrines of the *Siddha*, the *Tāntrika*, the *Nātha* and *Sant*. As is rightly observed, "So much emphasized was the idea of *śūnyatā* as the nature of the Ultimate Reality in Buddhist philosophy, religion and literature for centuries in India and outside, and so widespread and deep-rooted was its influence on the masses through the enthusiasm of the Mahāyānist, that the association of the idea of voidness with that of the Ultimate Reality became a tradition."[12] Kshitimohan Sen[13] provides us with a brief survey of this concept and the ideas associated with it in these words, "In the *sādhanā* of *Mahāyāna* the idea of *śūnya* entered as the bestower of all kinds of enjoyments and happiness. With the passage of time the contact of Buddhism with *śūnya* became more thick. In the philosophy of *Vajrayāna*, *śūnya* began to be considered as the fundamental substance of the world. Thus except *śūnya* all the gods and goddesses were reduced to a cipher. Except *śūnya*, all is *māyā*. This *śūnya* assumed the form of *Alakha Nirañjan* and filtered down the doctrines of the *Nāth* and the *Nirañjana*. The followers of Gorakha gave it a prominent place in their philosophy. In the teachings of the *Vāma Mārgīs* *śūnya* got a very honourable position. The eighty four *siddhas* have sung the praises of *śūnya*." Thus we observe that this term was widely used by several systems. Its ascendancy was felt after the *Mahāyāna* doctrines had received wide currency. The *Sant* including the *Sikha guru* also imbibed its essence and made it a part and parcel of their practices and principles.

State of Śūnya:

The *Sikha gurus* have described the state of *śūnya* or *śūnya samādhī* in a variety of ways. It is a state beyond contradictions. "There is neither death nor life, neither pleasure nor pain".[14] Physical appetites become irrelevant in this state. "I have left my hunger and sleep and *śūnya* has merged in *śūnya*".[15] Another simile is provided here. "When the pitcher breaks and the reflection in the water merges in the reflected object, as does one merge in *śūnya* after the doubt is removed".[16] It is further remarked, "As the water pervades the universe, so does one merge in the *śūnya*".[17] This is the abode of the Lord. "For those who are in *śūnya samādhī*, there is neither earth, nor water, nor sky, for them, there is the Lord alone".[18] "The *sants* have their abode in the *śūnya*

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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 284.

[13] *Dādu Dayāl Ki Bāni*; I, p. 179.

[14] The *Guru Grantha*, Shromani Gurudwara Prabandhaka Committee, Amritsar, 1964, p. 333.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 443.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 475.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 411.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 503.

samādhī, that is the place of *Brahman* ".[19] Here this state is not considered equivalent to the abode of the Lord. " The *yogīs* dwell on *śūnya* and regard Lord as unknowable ".[20] *Śūnya* and *śabda* are the same states, " He is engrossed in *śūnya samādhī* and dwells on *śabda* ".[21] It is also equated with the Tenth Door. " Above us all is one, the most wonderful and unique Lord. His abode is in the Tenth Door ".[22] Thus it means that according to the *Sikha* scripture *śūnya* state has been described in many ways. One attains this state when one reaches the Tenth Door. It is the abode of the Lord; both with attributes and without attributes. It is the state where rings the melody of the *śabda* and the coming and going ceases and also vanishes away the sense of subjectivity and objectivity.

Almost similar reference can be easily traced from the literature of the *Siddhas*, the *Nāthas* and the *Sants*. A manuscript of the *Siddhas* mentions, " *Śūnyatā*, which is firm, substantial, indivisible, impenetrable, incapable of being burnt, is called the *Vajra* ".[23] In a song attributed to *Savara-Pada*, it is mentioned by him that he has awakened the *Nairātma* damsel by destroying *śūnya, ati śūnya*, and also the adjoining house (i.e. *mahā-śūnya*) by the stroke of the fourth *śūnya* of his heart, and by the side of the adjoining house (*mahā-śūnya*) shines another house lit with moon rays, and when all the mass of darkness is driven away—the sky shines with lusture ".[24] Here in these references we find general Buddhist nature of atheism.

In the cult of Gorakhanātha we come across mention of this term also in a variety of ways. " It is located in the *suṣumṇā*, the middle path ".[25] " In the *śūnya* state the nature and intensity of bliss corresponds to the nature and bliss of the thousand petalled lotus ".[26] " It is a state beyond duality ".[27] " In this state nectar always rains ".[28] " The state of *śūnya* and of *śabda* are similar in experience ".[29] In the words of Banerji, " Gorakha Natha also calls the *parama śūnya*, where all objectivity and individuality vanishes in this experience, and there remains only one infinite, eternal, differenceless, changeless absolute experience. *Śūnya* does not mean absence of existence, but perfect subject object less, space timeless unconditional existence ".[30] Kabir also echoes similar views about his experience of the state of *śūnya*. " In this state rings the melody of the *śabda* and there my mind dances. By the grace of the Lord I have found nectar. I am in *sahaja* ".[31] In this state the distance between I and thou is obliterated, " I merge in *śūnya* in such a way as the wave merges in the ocean ".[32] For Kabir it is the state where the Lord manifests Himself with all His light ". There is effulgence in the region of *śūnya*. There is no sun, no moon, only *Nirañjana* and the melody of the *śabda*. I experienced light in all my pores and the Lord became manifest ".[33] Dadu also provides us with eloquent references of his experience of the state of *śūnya*. This is the abode of the attributeless Lord. " In the tank of *śūnya* the mind picks up jewels. This is the abode of *Nirañjana*, the unchangeable and indivisible Lord ".[34] " He equates *sahaja* with *śūnya* and says, " There is neither death nor life, here pleasure and pain become the same. This is the highest state. There is no duality. My mind is in *sahaja*. Fix your mind in *sahaja śūnya* and drink nectar ".[35] Some sufis were impressed by the yogic practices and, therefore, they imbibed certain Indian terms and incorporated them in their teachings. *Śūnya* is one of them. " In the ocean of *śūnya* rise up the currents and merge in it ".[36]

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 894.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 465-466.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 503.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 1039.
[23] *Advaya-Vajra-Saṁgraha, G.O.S.*, Vol. 40, 1927, p. 37.
[24] Song No. 50.
[25] *Gorakha Bānī*, p. 194.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 1.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[30] Dr. Banerji, A. K., *Philosophy of Gorakhanātha*; Mahant Digvijaya Nath, Gorakhpur, 1961, p. 181.

Thus, the attainment of the state of *śūnya* is the highest achievement of the spiritual endeavours according to the *Siddha*s, the *Nātha*s and the *Sant*s. The *Siddha*s being the inheritors of the atheistic traditions of Buddhism described this state within the frame-work of their teachings. Gorakha Natha adds timidly theistic elements in this term. Ram Kumar[37] Verma is quite right when he says, " *Śūnya* symbolises that state which is devoid of duality and there one experiences Truth, Beauty and Bliss. This is beyond the reach of body and mind. This is the state of highest bliss. For the *Siddha*s this was the supreme goal of their efforts. Because they were born and bred up in the agnostic traditions of Buddhism, therefore, they have nowhere stated that in this state of supreme happiness there is the experience of the bliss of God realization. But *Nāthism* emerged as a result of interaction of *Śaivism* on the prevailing cults, therefore, it saw light in the union of *Śiva* and *Śakti* in this concept. In this way, the *Nātha*s did not leave this concept where the *Siddha*s had left it, but with confidence added spiritual meaning to it and enlarged its scope. The *sādhaka* attains liberation in the union of *Śiva* and *Śakti* ". But the *Sant*s including the *guru*s still further widened its sphere. They boldly asserted that the state of *śūnya* was the state of God realization. Thus the term *śūnya* was now saturated with mystical ideas. Here the *guru*s discarded the old connotation of this term and made notable changes which accorded well with their general teachings.

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[31] *Granthāvalī*; Nagari Pracharni Sabha, Kashi, ed. 1956, p. 110.

[32] *Ibid.*, 137.

[33] *Sant Bānī Saṁgraha*; II, Belvadar Press, Allahabad, 1938, p. 13.

[34] Sen, Khistimohan; *Dādu Dāyal lā Bām*; I, p. 52.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

[36] Jayasi, Malik Mohammad; *Granthāvalī*; Mata Prashad Gupta, Allahabad, 1952, p. 658.

[37] *Hindi Sāhitya Kā Ālocanāmak Itihāsa*, Ram Narayanlal, Prayag, 1964, p. 114.

The idea of the association of *Nāda* or *Śabda* with *śūnya* appears to be of considerable antiquity. Muni Dutt, the commentator of the *caryāpāda*s[38] at one place maintains that the *siddha*s point to the melody of the *śabda* in the *śūnya* state. This idea was further developed by the *Nātha*s as we have mentioned above. In order to convey the idea of the melody of the *nāda* the followers of the *Nātha* cult carried with them a musical instrument called the *singni* as a symbol. We all know that *guru* Nanaka had with him his disciple, Mardana who played upon rabab or rebeck (the musical instrument), while he sang his hymns. It appears that Nanaka[39] continued the traditions of the *Nātha yogīs* but with a difference. We have no information whether Kabir and other *Sikha* masters did the same or not. But it seems that they did not carry any instrument with them while they sang hymns. Thus, they discarded that symbol.

Śūnya and the Lord :

The *Sikha* scripture associates *śūnya* with God both with attributes as well as without attributes. It is the abode of the One Lord. "The transcendental Lord is seated in *śūnya*. He Himself is detached and infinite."[41] There is *śūnya* Lord within and without, it is in the three worlds. Whosoever attains the fourth *śūnya* is not affected by vice or virtue. He who knows that *śūnya* (Lord) pervades everywhere, knows the mystery of *Nirañjana*, the *Ādi Puruṣa*.[42]" "In the *śūnya* state abides the *yogī*, our Lord. He is neither woman nor man.[43]" References to *śūnya* with *Saguṇa Brahman* can also be easily traced in the Holy Book. "The Lord is in *śūnya samādhī*, the supreme object of our lives and the master of the three worlds."[44] "He created the world out of His *śūnya* state. Water, air, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva were also created from this state."[45] "Out of His *śūnya* state came the seven seas, sun, moon, earth and sky. He also created *māyā*."[46] *Śūnya* is the abode of Śambhu, whosoever finds his abode there, is a *yogī*. There is light of *śūnya* in the abode of *śūnya*. There the detached *yogī* resides."[47] "From *śūnya* were born ten incarnations and all the worlds. From the light of *śūnya* emerged the five elements."[48]

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[38] Quoted from Bharati, Dharamvir; *Siddha Sahitya*, p. 339.

[39] Macauliffe, Max Arthur, The *Sikh Religion*; Vol. I, II; S. Chand and Co., Delhi, 1962 p. 33.

[41] The *Guru Granth*, p. 1037.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 943.

[43] *Ibid*,, p. 685.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 634.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 1037.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 1037.

The *Siddhas*, the faithful carriers of the Buddhist traditions equated *śūnya* with the Ultimate Reality, the seat of bliss or *mahāsukha*, as they used to put it, but nowhere do they refer God with or without attributes along with this term. The term *Nirañjana*, which later on was extensively used by the *sants*, no doubt, finds mention in their songs. "Enter the *śūnya Nirañjana*, after killing your mind with the help of *nirvāṇa*."[49] "When the mind is merged in *śūnya*, all the cravings are extinguished."[50] "The mind should feel that it is *śūnya*, the world is *śūnya* and the whole universe is *śūnya*."[51] Summing up the views of the *Caryapadas* about *śūnya*, S.B. Dasgupta[52] observes," It is absolute purity obtained by transcending the principles of defilement. It is the purified knowledge, the ultimate truth, the supreme omniscience. It is a state which can be said to be neither without beginning, nor with beginning, neither without middle nor with middle, neither without end nor with end. It is beyond the categories of either being or non-being, merit or demerit, or even a combination or the absence of both," The *Vajrayānists* also gave much prominence to *śūnya*. "The main point on which the *Vajrayāna* conception of the pantheon revolves is that of the five *dhayānī* Buddhas and the five Buddha families. The deities are all voluntary manifestations of *śūnya*, in forms dependent upon the *Bījas* uttered."[53] "It is further stated," In the *Vajrayāna* three elements are involved, *śūnya*, *vijñana* and *mahāsukha*. The combination of these is called *Vajra*. *Śūnya* is *Nairātma*, a goddess in whose embrace the individual mind (*Vijñana*) is locked and in which it remains in eternal bliss and happiness.[54] Gorakha Natha believes that it is the abode of *Śiva*." In the *śūnya* are father and mother. There abides the *Nirañjana* by Himself."[55] In the Sufi literature *śūnya* is equated with God without attributes as well as with attributes. "*Śūnya* is beyond sound and language, there is neither vice nor virtue, there He abides by Himself; it is the secret of the secrets."[56] "From *śūnya* He became gross; He Himself wears many garbs.[57] "From *śūnya* is born everything. From *śūnya* is born

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[47] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 1038.

[49] *Dohā Kośa*, p. 3.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 98.

[52] *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 46.

[53] Quoted from Briggs, George Weston; *Gorkhanath and the Kanphata Yogis*; Moti Lal Benārsi Dass, Delhi, ed. 1973, p. 277.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 277-78.

[55] *Gorakhabānī*; p. 73.

[56] Jayasi, Malik Mohammad; *Granthāvali*; p. 653.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 656.

śūnya. The world of diversity is born from *śūnya*, like *Indra*, universe, regions and all things "[58] For Dadu, *śūnya* and the attributeless Lord are the same. "In the *śūnya* is *Brahman*, *Nirañjana* and the Formless. There is effulgence. I have experienced this state."[59] It is further remarked, "According to Dadu there are four *śūnyas*, *kāyā*, *ātma*, *parama* and *sahaja*. The first three *śūnyas* are the regions of the manifest Lord, and the last is that of the unmanifest Lord. Here He is in *sahaja śūnya*. This is the last stage. In the *kāyā śūnya* are the five elements, in the *ātma śūnya* is the light, in the *parama śūnya* the soul meet the Lord, and in the fourth *śūnya* Dadu is alone. This is the last stage to reach. There the *Nirañjana* Lord is present everywhere. None can speak about His qualities."[60] Some followers of Caitanya were deeply impressed by this term and they associated *śūnya* with Kṛṣṇa, their highest deity. "The staunch apostles of *Vaiṣṇavism* of Orissa in the 16th century, like Acyutananda Dasa, Balrama Dasa, Jagan Dasa, Anant Dasa etc. etc., who were all contemporaries and who propagated *Vaiṣṇavism* as professed followers of Caitanya, described Lord Kṛṣṇa as the *śūnya Puruṣa*, and made him none but the incarnation of *śūnyatā*, the ultimate void."[61] In some other texts *śūnya* along with the Lord with attributes find sufficient mention. "*Śūnya* is beyood seven continents, nine regions of earth, seven *pātālas* and twenty one universes. There the Lord *Nirañjana* lives."[62] Thus we find that the *Sikha* masters alongwith other leaders of the *sant mata* associate the concept of *śūnya* with God both with and without qualities. The same idea can also be easily traced in some other texts as mentioned above. Here we definitely find a departure from the teachings of the *Siddhas* and the *Tāntrikas* who though speak about Ultimate Reality, but not about God in association with this concept. No doubt, that the *Nāthas* speak of Śiva, but they are not as forceful, clear and eloquent as the *sants* including the *gurus* are, when they equate *śūnya* with God. The *gurus* abandoned some old meanings associated with this concept and tried their best and also succeeded eminently by giving a powerful theistic slant to this concept in their teachings. In this way they once again established in the popular mind the meanings of *śūnya* not as an agnostic doctrine, but as a mystical principle.

We have noted above that *Nirañjana* has been equated with *śūnya* in the doctrines of the *siddhas*, the *Nāthas*, the *Sants*, and several other cults. In the literature of the *Siddhas Nirañjana* stands for the highest reality, but in the doctrines of the *Sants* it stands for the Supreme Lord. S. B. Dasgupta puts it beautifully in these words, "The use of the word *Nirañjana* is not, however, very uncommon in Hindu philosophical and theological texts, but its use seems to be more common in the Buddhist than in the Hindu fold, and it is very frequently and aptly used as an epithet of reality, which in its ultimate void nature is stainless like the sky above. In the liturgical works of the *Dharma* cult, queer derivation of the word *Nirañjana* are offered which are purely arbitrary in nature. This epithet or rather the synonymn *Nirañjana* for ultimate reality or the formless supreme being became very popular in all the vernacular literature, and in fact it has been very widely used by the *Dharmites*, the *Nāthists*, the *Bauls*, the Sufi poets, the *nirguṇa* poets of Hindi literature and also the *Sikhas*."[63] Thus the position of *Nirañjana* was eminently recognised by all the above mentioned cults and creeds, though, no doubt, with different emphasis and meanings, keeping in view the framework of their doctrines and teachings. This may also be due to the impact of the teachings of the *Dharma* or *Nirañjana* cult as well as the respect which the leaders of this cult got from the *yogīs* and the *Sants*, where *Nirañjana* was allotted the supreme position. "*Nirañjana* or the *paramtattva* is neither born nor dies. It is always of the same nature and is immanent everywhere. He is unreachable and unknowable. He is formless and eternal. His *māyā* pervades everywhere. He guided the destinities of the whole world in His unmanifest form. He never incarnates Himself."[64]

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[58] *Ibid.*, p. 666.

[59] Sen, Kshitimohan; *Dādu Dayāl Kī Bānī*, I., p. 58.

[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

[61] *Śūnya Saṁhitā*, vii, pp. 52-53.

[62] Bodh Nirañjana; *Bodh Sagar*, (7), p. 4.

"Hari Dasa, one of their eminent teacher, received spontaneous adoration and respect from Gorakha Natha, Gopi Chandra, Bhartṛhari, Kabir and Dadu."[65] But later on, *Nirañjana*'s position was lowered. It was usurped by the True *Puruṣa*. "Beyond *śūnya* is the abode of the *Puruṣa*. He is without name."[66] "When afterwards the *Nirañjana* was defeated and relegated to a secondary position, the True *Puruṣa* was given the highest status. Consequently the abode of *śūnya* was considered lower than the *parama loka*. In this way, the latter was considered beyond the region of *śūnya*."[67] This idea is mentioned by Kabir in a different way. "It is true that Kabir regards *Nirañjana* in high esteem, but for him the *Ādi Puruṣa* is like a tree and *Nirañjana* is equated with the branch of that tree. But it appears that later on due to the infighting among the followers of the *Nirañjana* cult, Kabir, does not give him the same position."[68] But in the *Gurugrantha* we find that *Nirañjana* and *Ādi Puruṣa* are the same. The *Sikha* religion does not lower the most exalted position of *Nirañjana* in its teachings.

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[63] *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 287.

[64] *Hindi Sāhitya Kośa*; I, Jñan Mandal Ltd., Varanasi, 1962, p. 49.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 490.

[66] Jñan Bodh; *Bodha Sagar*; (7), p. 21.

[67] Bharati, Dharamvir; *Siddha Sāhitya*, p. 350.

[68] *Hindi Sāhitya Kośa*; I, p. 489.

How to attain the Śūnya State :

We have already mentioned that the attainment of the state of *śūnya* is the highest spiritual goal. In order to achieve this state the *gurus* have recommended certain ways, both yogic and non-yogic References to the former are clearly seen in these hymns, " When the mind is in *unmani* state (when the wind passes through the *suṣumṇā*) one attains *śūnya* state and then duality departs."[69] " When I turned my breath inwards, I pierced the six *cakras* and attained the *śūnya* state."[70] When one arrives at the Tenth Door after closing the nine doors (two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, mouth and two evacuation organs) one hears the *anāhata śūnya* music and comes face to face with the Lord. The unmanifest *śabda* becomes manifest."[71] *Nāma* is also considered as a means for the attainment of this state. " Imbued with *nāma* one is in *śūnya samādhi*."[72] When one contemplates on *nāma* as the seed of the *mantra*, then the mind is inverted and it attains the state of *śūnya*."[73] The instructions of the *guru* are also very efficacious. " Through the instructions of the *guru* I merge in *śūnya*, the highest state."[74] This state can also be attained if one is able to subdue his five cravings. " A *yogī* is one who disciplines his five senses. Thus, he gains wisdom and is always merged in *śūnya samādhi*."[75] *Sahaja* path is also recommended. " By the *sahaja* path, I attained *sahaja* and merged in *śūnya*."[76] Death for the world of name and form also leads to the same goal. " Who died while living merges in *śūnya*."[77]

The *Siddhas* had their own way of attaining the state of *śūnya*.[78] " When all the cravings are stilled, the mind enters the state of *śūnya*.[79] In the *Nātha* cult emphasis is laid on *mudrā*. " Through the *khecari mudrā* one attains the state of *śūnya Nirañjana*."[80] Kabir recommends contemplation. " When I contemplate, I become forgetfull of the bodily senses, my mind becomes cool and I bathe in the tank of *śūnya*."[81]

Thus, we observe that the *gurus* partially accepted the traditions of the *Siddhas*, the *Nāthas* and Kabir in this connection. They rightly rejected the path of hard *sādhanā* because it was enormously difficult to practice for a layman. It is quite true that the practices of the *Nāthas* like the piercing of the *cakras* (not by rousing the *Kuṇḍalini Śakti*, but by turning the breath inward) and awakening the *suṣmaṇā* i.e., the middle path have been recommended, but alongwith it the path of *nāma*, the *Sahaja* path, and the instructions of the *guru* have also been high lighted considerably as means to attain the state of *śūnya*. Discipline of the five desires and death towards the worldly objects appear to be quite common things in all these creeds.

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[69] *The Guru Granth*, p. 333.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 334.
[71] *Ibid.*, pp. 943-44.
[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 265, 973.
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 974.
[74] *Ibid.*, p. 857.
[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 827, 1408, 334.
[76] *Ibid.*, p. 774.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 332.
[78] See reference no. 49.
[79] *Dohā Kośa*, p. 3.
[80] *Haṭha Yoga Pradipikā*, 3/53.
[81] *Granthāvali*, p. 18.

Conclusion :

The above mentioned account about *śūnya* shows us that this concept has been used since the period of the epics in Indian philosophy. Of course, its use was very much limited, but later on in the *Mahāyāna* philosophy of Buddhism it began to be propagated as a philosophical doctrine of the greatest importance. The ever-enlarging scope of the *Mahāyāna* principles in the fold of Buddhism itself as well as its penetrating impact on contemporary creeds gave *śūnya* sufficient currency. The *Siddhas*, the *Tāntrikas*, the *Nāthas* and the *Sants* incorporated this concept in their beliefs and teachings. In this way, it is quite correct to conclude that the *gurus* had their contacts with the *Siddhas* particularly via the *Sants* and the *Nāthas* for the adoption of this concept.

The *Siddhas* regarded *Śūnya* as the ultimate reality where there is neither death nor life and it is a state of profound bliss. The *Vajrayānists* called this state by the name of *Vajra*. The *Nātha yogis* also gave this concept the most exalted position where there is the union of *Śiva* and *Śakti* and the *Sādhaka* drinks nectar. The *gurus* also exress similar experiences but they had forgotten certain other things associated with this concept like that of the *Vajra* of the *Vajrayānists*, the void of the *Siddhas* and the union of *Śiva Śakti* of the *yogis*. They felt that the state of *śūnya* is that of God realization, which the *Siddhas* did not propagate and the *Nāths* expressed reluctantly and that too in a few words. As the *gurus* were the staunch followers and strong advocates of the theistic doctrines, so they spoke boldly about God and His equation with the *śūnya* state. No doubt, they inherited the *śūnya* traditions from the later forms of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, but they discarded its agnostic approach. Moreover, the later Buddhist cults expressed *śūnya* in negative terms but partially positive in experience; whereas the approach of the *gurus* was total, positive in form, expression and content in this matter. This concept as taught by the *Nāthas* and the *Siddhas* reached the periphery of the teachings of the *gurus*. They introduced mystical meanings into it when they declared that *śūnya* is not different from the Lord. Their *śūnya* was saturated with mysticism. It appears that the doctrines of theism which had gone underground due to the tremendous influence of the *Mahāyāna* cult and its various sects and sub-sects, struggled once again to come to the surface through the teaching of the *Nāthas* and these came into full bloom at the hands of the *Sants* and the *gurus*. Here the *gurus* owe more to the *Nathas* than to the *Siddhas* in certain respects.

There is no mention of the three, four or seven gradations of *śūnya* in the *Guru-grantha* as we find in the teachings of the *Siddas*, the *Nāthas*, Dadu and Kabir. Surely the *gurus* discarded this gradation and dwelt on *śūnya* which was the state of complete identity of the soul with the Lord, with or without attributes.

The concept of *śūnya Nirañjana* contained in the *Gurugrantha* was widely propagated by many creeds as we have noted above. The *Dharma* cult or the *Nirañjanas* of Bengal sufficiently popularised it through its teachings. The *gurus* continued the old traditions of this concept but like some *Sants* whose references have been given above, they did not denigrate the position of *Nirañjana* and gave him consistentaly the most high position and equated him with the attributeless Lord. In order to attain this state *haṭha yoga* is discarded though a few yogic practices mentioned above are incorporated by the *gurus* in their scripture at random, but their chief emphasis was on the *sahaja* path and also that of *bhakti* together with the disciplining of mind in this connection.

The aforesaid discussion also shows that terms like *śūnya* and *sahaja* are mixed up with each other. Sometimes one is taken as a means and the other as an end. Any how, the *Sikha*-masters were neither logicians nor they were to build any systematic philosophical thought, but they were devotees, pure, simple and par excellence. A profound devotee never bothers about the meanings of different concepts which he uses in his teachings, but in his exuberance he utters them as he experiences them.

It means that the Holy Book maintains strong links with the several cults and creeds of those days. *Śūnya*'s journey from the *Mahābhārata* to the *Sikha gurus* was a very long one. In this journey many eminent thinkers tried to enlarge the dimensions of its meanings and scope together with the practices connected with it. The Buddhist metaphysicians like *Nāgārjuna* for the first time placed before their readers its deep meanings. This concept became so attractive and enchanting that all the later creeds had to incorporate it in the general frame-work of their dogmas. The *Sikha gurus* were no exceptions, but they made some notable changes here and there in the definition and scope of this concept as said above

MAGIC SQUARES OF SANSKRIT ORIGIN

By

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A square is a figure of 4 equal sides, the internal angles of which are all right angles and the diagonals of this square divide each other at right angles. This square is turned into a Magic Square by providing odd/even number of equal cells, horizontally as well as vertically. The sum total of the numbers provided in these cells is always equal or alike-horizontally, vertically and diagonally also.

The primary purpose of Magic Squares was entertainment. It was a pastime which afforded some training in Mathematics, the wonder of numbers, their combinations and permutations etc. But, in the *Tantras* in Sanskrit, these squares were used to achieve certain desired objects by propitiating certain deities and were not entirely treated from the point of view of Mathematics, though they knew the magical properties of the numbers.

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (p. 213, vol. 15, 9th edn.) states that " the earliest known writer on this subject was Emanuel Moscopulus, a Greek, who lived in the 4th or 5th century and whose Manuscript is preserved in the National Library, at Paris ". But, unfortunately, no squares from his Ms. are mentioned or described therein, i.e. in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Here, it must be pointed out that in books written by foreigners, there is hardly any reference to original Sanskrit sources and generally, contributions of Ancient Indian scholars are either connived at or given very scant respect. The same holds good in this case also. In the following pages, an attempt is made to prove that Magic Squares were known to Ancient Sanskrit writers and were treated in some works on *Tantra*.

The *Tantras* are believed to have been composed at a time contemporaneous with the Vedic texts. Some scholars opine that some fundamentals of Tantrism can be seen in *R. Veda* also, though the Tantrism was not properly systematized at that time. Some rites and rituals from *Yajurveda* seem to be originally from *Tantras*. *Atharva-veda* and *Tantras* are closely related to each other. A proof of it can be furnished in the form of a statement occurring in the *Kulārṇava-tantra*, wherein it is said that the ' Devī says so in *Atharvasaṁhitā*. ' (Ref. p. 797, vol. III of *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛtikośa*). Hence, it can be fairly surmised that the *Tantras* were in vogue in Early Vedic as well as Later Vedic period also. But, some *Tantras* are as old as the 1st century A.D. The *Śivatāṇḍavatantra*, some copies of which are available in the Oriental Institute, Baroda, may be assigned to this period, since, it is one of the oldest *Tantras*. And in this particular *Tantra* occur Magic Squares along with the *Yantras* meant for obtaining some desires. Of course, here at the outset, it must be frankly admitted that these squares are here described not from the point of view of Mathematical Magic Squares, but, purely with the faith in the efficacy of these magical *Yantras*, based on these squares. Hence, there are some deficiencies in some of these squares, e.g. some numerals are dropped in some squares and some are duplicate in others.

Here no. 9 is dropped.

1	8	14	13
15	12	2	7
4	5	17	10
16	11	3	6

Here 11, 13 and 15 are duplicate

17	3	13	2
9	6	13	7
4	15	1	15
5	11	8	11

Instances of these can be multiplied.

But, it is also to be noted that there is one square which is complete in all the respects. It is a Perfect Square, having a total of 136 from all the 16 cells and of 34 each of every row of 4 cells each. This proves beyond doubt that the author of *Śivatāṇḍavatantra* did have a fairly good idea of the Magic Squares, but did not give much importance to it since, Magic Squares were outside the purview of his subject-matter. The comparison of this Perfest Square with the Nasik Square may give interesting results. This Perfect Magic Square of the total of 136 of all the 16 cells and of 34 each of each of the four rows is given here for the benefit and perusal of those interested in it.

1	8	13	12
14	11	2	7
4	5	16	9
15	10	3	6

Another Magic Square of the same total value of 136 and 34 each of every line of 4 cells may be reproduced here.

12	13	5	4
1	8	16	9
14	11	3	6
7	2	10	15

But, herein, the values of the diagonals differ. Hence, it is not a Perfect Square.

Moreover, along with this square, two other Perfect Magic Squares are also given on the same folio.

31	28	21	20
17	24	27	32
29	30	19	22
23	18	33	26

47	44	5	4
1	8	43	48
45	46	3	6
7	2	49	42

Total value 400, each row 100, vertically, horizontally and diagonally. Hence, both are perfect Squares.

The Perfect Magic Squares like these galore in this Manuscript.

We trust that this introductory article is quite adequate to bring home the point that Magic Squares, like the zero, the Game of Chess etc. is a very significant and original contribution of Ancient Indian Sanskrit scholars, who definitely were intellectual giants, possessing scientific bent of mind as well as philosophical and spiritual outlook.

THE RIDDLE OF THE DATE OF THE DEVNĪ MORĪ CASKET INSCRIPTION

By

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Our attention was drawn to this inscription when we visited Baroda in 1965 on the invitation of the M. S. University for a lecture series. It is incised on the lid, sides and bottom of a casket discovered during excavations made by the Archaeological Department of the University at the village of Devnī Morī in the Sābarkāṇṭhā District of Gujarāt. It was first edited by R. N. Mehta and S. N. Chaudhari in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XII, pp. 173 ff. As their readings and interpretation required some corrections, we pointed them out in the *Vishveshvarananda Indological Journal*, Vol. III, pp. 111 ff. and discussed the contents and date of the record. Thereafter, D. C. Sircar discussed its date in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XIV, pp. 334 f. It was also discussed by Kantilal Phulchand Sompura in Vol. XV, pp. 59 f. and by Sankaranarayanan in Vol. XV, pp. 65 f. of the Journal. P. R. Srinivasan has re-edited the inscription with excellent plates in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 37 f. Though the date of this record has been discussed by several scholars, its riddle still remains unsolved. We propose to re-discuss it here in view of its importance for the ancient history of Gujarat.

We first give the text of the inscription and its translation below :

नमः सर्व्वज्ञाय [।*]
ज्ञानानुकम्पाकारुण्यप्रभावनिधये नमः [।*]
सम्यकसंबुद्धसूर्य्याय परवादितभानुदे [॥*॥*]
सप्ताविंशत्यधिके कथिकनृपाणां समागतेब्दशते [।*]
भ(भा)द्रपदपंचमदिने नृपतौ श्रीरुद्रसेने च [॥२॥*]
क(कृ)तमवनिकेतुभूतम्महाविहाराश्रये महास्तूपं (पम्) [।*]
सत्वा(त्त्वा)नेकानुग्रहनिरताभ्यां शाक्यभिक्षुभ्यां (भ्याम्) [॥३॥*]
साध्वग्निवर्म्मनाम्ना सुदर्शनेन च विमुक्तरंध्रेण [।*]
कार्म्मान्तिकौ च पाशान्तिकपड्डौ[1] शाक्यभिक्षुकावत्र [॥४॥*]
दशबलशरीरनिलयश्शुभशैलमयस्स्वयं वराहेण [।*]
कुट्टिमक(कृ)ता क(कृ)तोयं समुद्रकस्सेनपुत्रेण [॥५॥*]
महसेनभिक्षुरस्य च कारयिता विश्रुतः समुद्रस्य [।*]
सुगतप्रसादकामो वृद्ध्यर्थं धर्म्मसङ्घाभ्यां (भ्याम्) [॥६॥*]

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[1] Sircar reads here *Pāśāntika-Pallau*. The correct reading, however, appears as above. The same is given by Srinivasan in *E.I.* XXXVII, p. 39.

Translation

Obeisance to the Omniscient :

(Verse 1) Obeisance to the sun in the form of the Buddha who has attained right knowledge, who dispels darkness in the form of opposing disputants and who is a store of knowledge, compassion, pity and power.

(V. 2-4) While the hundred and twenty-seventh year of the Kathika kings is current, on the fifth day of Bhādrapada and while the illustrious king Rudrasena is reigning, (*this*) great Stūpa near the great Vihāra, which is (as it were) a banner of the earth, was constructed by the Buddhist monks always engaged in blessing numerous beings, *viz.*, the noble Agnivarman and the blameless Sudarśana.

The Buddhist monks Pāśāntika and Paḍḍa supervised this work (V. 4) Varāha, the son of Sena, who made the paved floor, himself prepared this casket of auspicious stone which contains the relics of the body of the Buddha.

(V. 6) The well-known monk Mahāsena, who longs for the blessings of the Buddha, caused this casket to be prepared for the augmentation of Dharma and Saṅgha.

This inscription shows that the casket found inside the Stūpa at Devnī Morī was deposited there on the fifth tithi of Bhādrapada in the year 127 during the reign of a king named Rudrasena. As no king could have reigned for a long period of 127 years, the date must be referred to some era. But scholars are greatly divided about the identity of the era in which the year is recorded. We give below the different views on the point and examine them critically.

First View—This 127th year is of the Śaka era.

As the Śaka era was current in North Gujarat for a long time, and as the name Rudrasena occurs often in the genealogy of the Śaka Kṣatrapas who ruled there, one is naturally inclined to refer the year to the era of A.D. 78, founded by Kaniṣka and used by his Śaka Kṣatrapas who ruled in Gujarat. Mehta and Chaudhari have adopted this very view and have taken the year as equivalent to A.D. 205-06. In that year *Mahākshatrapa* Rudrasena I was ruling in Gujarat and Kāṭhiāwāḍ as shown by the Gaḍha inscription.[2]

But several objections can be raised against this view such as the following :

(1) The characters of the inscription do not appear as old as the third century A.D. They appear to be of the fourth or the fifth century A.D.

(2) Prakrit, not Sanskrit, was generally used in the records of the beginning of the third century A.D. The Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman I is an exception. The present inscription which is composed in good Sanskrit could not, therefore, have been old as A.D. 205.

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[2] *EI.*, XVI, pp. 236.f.

(3) The ruling king mentioned in the present inscription is described therein as belonging to the Kathika family. We know, however, from an inscription at Kanheri, that the Western Kṣatrapas ruling in Gujarat were of the Kārdamaka family.[3] So King Rudrasena of the present inscription, who is described as belonging to the Kathika family, could not have been one of them. Hence, the date 127 is not likely to be of the Śaka era.

Some scholars, however, do not think that there are unsurmountable objections. They remove them as follows :

(1) Sircar explains the apparently later characters of the Devnī-Morī inscription as due to its having been written in a cursive manner. He says.[4] "There were always in all parts of India the normal archaic and cursive alphabets prevalent side by side. We have the Mathurā inscription of the Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II, dated in the year 380 A.D., but exhibiting palaeographic features of the Kuṣāṇa records of the first and second centuries A.D." We also have noticed the same in the inscriptions of Chashtana's regnal years 6 and 11. So the first objection has not much weight.

(2) The Western Kṣatrapas encouraged Sanskrit learning. See the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman I[5]. The Malhārā plates recently discovered in Vidarbha which are of about the middle of the third century A.D. are written in elegant Sanskrit. So this objection too is not unsurmountable.

(3) Though the Western Kṣatrapas belonged to the Kārdamaka family, they could have been called *Kathika*. In Buddhist literature the word *Kathika* is used in the sense of 'a Buddhist preacher'. Like Kaniṣka, these Western Kṣatrapas also had adopted measures for the propagation of Buddhism. They can well be called *Kathika*.

So Sircar identified Rudrasena mentioned in the present inscription with the first Western Kṣatrapa of that name, who issued his coins as Kṣatrapas in A.D. 199-200, and as *Mahākṣatrapa* in the period A.D. 200-222. But he himself pointed out a formidable objection to this identification. Some Kṣatrapa coins were also discovered along with the casket, two of them were of the Kṣatrapa Viśvasena who ruled in Śaka 216-226 or A.D. 294-304. If the casket was deposited in the Stūpa in Śaka 127 or A.D. 205-06, how could these coins of a later period be there ? Sircar has candidly expressed his inability to explain the presence of these coins in the Stūpa.[6] He points out that one possible explanation of this is that the Stūpa was re-opened later when these coins were inserted there, but, there was no sign of such re-opening of it. So Sircar himself was not satisfied by that possible explanation.

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[3] Lüders, *List*, No. 994.

[4] *JOI.*, XIV, p. 338.

[5] See *EI.* VIII, pp. 36 ff.

Second View—The year 127 is of the Gupta era, being equivalent to A.D. 446-447.

This view has been stated and then rejected by Sankarnaryanan.[7] Gupta power had no doubt extended to North Gujarat in this period, but that family had no member of the name Rudrasena. Besides, if he belonged to the Gupta family, he could not have been called *Kathika.* So this view is inadmissable.

Third View—The year 127 is of an unknown era.

This view has been advocated by Sankaranarayanan. He refers this year to an unknown era commencing about A.D. 300.[8] In this period the power of the Western Kṣatrapas had declined and so none of them is known to have assumed the title of *Mahākṣatrapa.* This must have been due to the rise of the Kathika kings according to Sankaranarayanan. Sompura also holds the same view;[9] but he places the commencement of the era some time between A.D. 174 to 273. As that era soon went out of vogue, more records dated in it have not been found.

There is, however, not a shred of evidence to support the view that there was such an era current in that age in Gujarat and it disappeared later. So this view also is unacceptable.

Fourth View—The Year 127 is of the Ābhīra era commencing in A.D. 250. It is equivalent to A.D. 376-77.

This view was put forward by us when we discussed this record in the *Vishveshvarānanda Indological Journal*, Vol. III, pp. 111 ff. It was later accepted by Mehta,[10] but we do not agree with his identification of Rudrasena mentioned in the present inscription. This will be discussed later.

The reason for accepting this view is thus stated by Mehta. If the year 127 is referred to the Ābhīra era it becomes equivalent to A.D. 376-77. This agrees with the evidence of the architecture and sculpture of the Stūpa, which appear to be of the fourth century A.D. This date is also corroborated by the palaeographical evidence of the casket inscription as shown by Amalananda Ghosh[11] and ourselves.[12] The presence of the coins of Viśvasena (A.D. 294-304) can also be accounted for on this supposition, for he flourished before A.D. 376-77, the date of the construction of this Stūpa.

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[6] Sircar says. "The conflict between the epigraphical and archaeological evidence cannot be satisfactorily solved at present". *JOI.*, XIV, p. 339.

[7] *Ibid.*, XV, p. 70.

[8] *Ibid.*, XV, p. 72.

[9] *Ibid.*, XV. 65.

[10] *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 412.

[11] *Archaeological Remains, Monuments and Museums*, 1964, p. 18.

Sircar has, however, raised an objection to this view.[13] He says : "All descendants of Chashṭana have dated their records in the Śaka era. In fact, though the era was founded by the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka, it came to be known by the name of *Śaka*, because it was used for a long time by the Śaka Kṣatrapas of Gujarat and Kāṭhiāwāḍ. Their subjects also dated their records in the same Śaka era. How is it then that the Śaka king Rudrasena dated this inscription in a foreign era, discarding the Śaka era used by his family for several generations? We must have strong evidence to prove this view.

We can state the necessary evidence to prove this view. In our previous article in the *Vishveshvarānanda Indological Journal*, we have stated not only that the era to which the year 127 must be referred was the Ābhīra era but also that the king Rudrasena mentioned in it was also an Ābhīra.[14] The Ābhīras had names ending in *-sena*. See the name of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena mentioned in a Nāsik cave inscription. So Rudrasena of the present inscription was of the Ābhīra race. His family was known as *Kathika* It is not surprising that being himself an Ābhīra, he dated the record in the Ābhīra era. According to the *Purāṇa*s, ten Ābhīra kings ruled for 167 years.[15] So the year 127 falls in this period of Ābhīra supremacy. This identification of the era is supported by the evidence of palaeography, architecture and sculpture as shown above.

Here we may anticipate an objection. The Ābhīra era was no doubt in vogue in Gujarāt in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. as shown by the grants of the Early Gurjaras who flourished in that age. But have we any evidence to show that the era was current there in the fourth century A.D.? For answering this question we must review the origin and spread of the Ābhīra era. We have discussed this question in detail in the Introduction of *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV (Inscriptions of the Kalacuri-Cedi Era).[16] We shall deal with it briefly here.

The *Purāṇa*s state that the Andhras (*i.e.* the Sātavāhanas) were succeeded by several ruling families, but they give more information about the Ābhīras than about others. They state that ten Ābhīras ruled for 167 years, but unfortunately they do not give their names. That the Ābhīras succeeded the Sātavāhanas in the Deccan is known from the Nāsik inscription of *Rājan* Īśvarasena.[17] He flourished about A.D. 250, and was evidently the founder of the era that commenced in that year. That era spread in course of time to Western Mahārāṣṭra, Koṅkaṇ, Gujarāt, Anūpa and north Khāndesh with the spread of Ābhīra imperial power.[18] The early inscriptions of this era come from these parts of the country.[19]

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[12] *VIJ.*, III, pp. 110 f.

[13] *JOI.*, XIV, p. 338.

[14] *Loc. cit*. Sircar's statement that we have taken Rudrasena as a Śaka ruler is incorrect. We have not said so anywhere. Srinivasan has stated our view correctly. See *EI.* XXXVII, p. 38, n. 4.

[15] Most *Purāṇas* state that ten Ābhīras ruled for 67 years, but this is unlikely. The correct reading seems to be *sapta-ṣaṣti śatān-iha*, given by the *e* MS. of the *Vāyupurāṇa*. *DKA*., p. 84, n. 27.

[16] *CII*. IV, p. xxvii f.

The Ābhīra rule lasted for 165 years as stated in the *Purāṇas*. The Traikūṭakas who succeeded the Ābhīras in Koṅkaṇ, Gujarāt and Western Mahārāṣṭra used the Ābhīra era which was current in those countries.[20] The Kalacuris who followed the Traikūṭakas used the same era as it was previously current in their home country of Anūpa and also in the countries of Gujarāt, Koṅkaṇ and Western Mahārāṣṭra which they conquered from the Traikūṭakas. The era then spread to Vidarbha also when Kṛṣṇarāja, the founder of the Kalacuri power conquered it as shown by the Nagardhan plates of his feudatory Svāmirāja[21] In the beginning of the seventh century A.D. Pulakeśin II conquered Koṅkaṇ, Western Mahārāṣṭra, South Gujarat and some part of North Gujarāt also, and placed his relatives and feudatories in charge of them. They used the Ābhīra era in dating their records for some time as it was well established in those countries.[22] But later, they began to use the Śaka era in imitation of their suzerain. This is how the Ābhīra era was introduced and was later superseded in those parts of the country.

The Ābhīra era had spread as far as the Broach, Baroḍā and Ahmedābād districts in the north. Copper-plate grants of the Early Gurjara king Dadda II have been discovered at Kairā, south of Ahmedābād.[23] They are of as a late period as the seventh century A.D. But it cannot be said that the era was not in vogue there in earlier periods. It could not have been introduced there by the Early Gurjaras; for it was not current in their home province of Rājasthāna.[24] It was used by Dadda II and others in their grants because it was current in North Gujarāt when they conquered it.

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[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 1 f.

[18] See inscriptions Nos. 1-7 in *CII.* IV.

[19] Inscriptions Nos. 2-4 in *CII.*IV are not dated in the Gupta era as some scholars suppose. Their dates are recorded in the Ābhīra era as shown in that Volume. These kings ruled over the Nemāḍ district in Khāndesh and the Indore District north of the Narmadā.

[20] *CII.* IV. p. 22-29.

[21] *Ibid.*, IV., pp. 611.

[22] See the dates of the copper-plate grants of the Sendrakas, Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha, Śryāśraya, Śilāditya, Gurjara king Dadda II etc. in *CII.* IV.

[23] *Ibid.*, IV., pp. 37 f.

[24] *Ibid.*, IV, p. iii.

When an era is well established in any region, it is adopted by the subsequent conquerors of it. This can be illustrated by several instances. We have shown above that the Cālukya princes who were ruling in Mahārāṣṭra, South Gujarāt and Koṅkaṇ used the Ābhīra era though it was not current in their home province of Karnāṭaka. Similarly the Early Gurjaras dated their records in the Ābhīra era evidenthy because it was current in North Gujarāt before they conquered it. But how was it in vogue there? An era spreads with the spread of political power. The Gupta era spread in Central India and Kāṭhiāwāḍ when the Guptas conquered those provinces. The Śaka Saṁvat was current in parts of Karnāṭaka because it was comprised in the kingdom of the Śaka kings of the Māhiṣaka country as shown by us elsewhere. Later, it spread to Mahārāṣṭra, Koṅkaṇ and South Gujarāt when the Calukyas of Bādāmī conquered them. Similarly, the Ābhīra era must have been current in North Gujarāt in the pre Gurjara age because it was once included in the kingdom of the Ābhīras. So Rudrasena mentioned in the Devnī-Morī casket inscription must have been of the Ābhīra family. The Ābhīras ruled for 165 years as stated in the *Purāṇas*. The year 127 of the casket inscription falls in this period. There should, therefore, be no doubt that the year 127 is recorded in the Ābhīra era.

Devnī-Morī is near Sāmlājī in the Sābarkānthā District which borders the Ahmedābād District on the north. It was previously included in the kingdom of the Western Kṣatrapas as shown by the coins of Viśvasena dated Śaka 216 to 226 found in the stūpa. The casket inscription of A.D. 377 mentions the Ābhīra king Rudrasena evidently because he was ruling there at the time. He was previously holding the Ahmedābād District. He must have raided the northern Sābarkāṇṭhā District and held it for some time. In the last quarter of the fourth cen. A.D. the power of the Western Kṣatrapas was declining. So it is not surprising that Ābhīra Rudrasena occupied a part of their territory before A.D. 377. Within fifteen years from this date Chandragupta II overthrew the Western Kṣatrapas and annexed their kingdom. At the same time he must have conquered the Ābhīras ruling in North Gujarāt. The Ābhīra era, however, continued in use in the districts of Broach, Panchamahāl, Ahmedābād and Kairā. Hence the early Gurjaras who conquered them in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. used the Ābhīra era which was well established there.

The *Purāṇas* do not name any Ābhīra king. The present casket inscription has brought to notice for the first time the name of Rudrasena of an Ābhīra king. Therein lies its importance for the early history of Gujarāt.

A RARE EARLY SCULPTURE FROM MĀRKAṆḌA, DIST. CHANDA (MAHARASHTRA)

By

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Introduction:

The village Mārkaṇḍa locally known as Mārkaṇḍi or Deo Mārkaṇḍa is situated on the left bank of Wainganga river in Gharchiroli tahsil, about 65 Kms east of Chanda and 8 Kms north-west of Chāmursi. The place is approached[1] by bus up to Chāmursi and a cart track for about 8 Kms leads to the village proper.

The Importance:

The place is an important pilgrim centre in Vidarbha region, because of its sacred situation and also of its monumental edifices. In fact the village derived its name from an important temple dedicated to Lord Śiva called locally Mārkaṇḍśvara temple. The association of sage Mārkaṇḍa with the temple or for that matter with the place is difficult to explain satisfactorily However, the traditional legend is that the sage performed penance here and attained the boon of immortality from Śiva. To commemorate this legend several temples have been built and dedicated to Śiva, Mārkaṇḍa, Mṛkaṇḍa (father of Mārkaṇḍa), Yama, Mṛtyuñjaya etc., who are referred to in the legend. The place is also considered as sacred for the river takes a northerly bend (*Uttaravāhinīgaṅgā*). Although the present temple complexes as they stand now are labelled to 10-12th centuries A.D.[2], the indications, such as large size bricks, pottery wares and short epigraphical records available at the place point out to a much earlier antiquity of the *Kṣetra* It may be stated here, that Sir A. Cunningham noted that the quadrangular enclosure wall has a primitive look and is much earlier than the temples within.[3] Among the standing examples, some are considered as important from the point of art and architecture and recall the artistic tradition of

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[1] During rainy season the bus reaches Chamursi via Ghot a round about way, but in other seasons by a shorter route i.e., Via Mul. In later case one has to get down at a village called Bandāla on Mul-Chamursi road and walk the distance of 6 Kms.

[2] Krishna Deva, *Temples of North India*, (New Delhi, 1969), p. 53. whereas Sir A. Cunningham gave an earlier date of 10th cent. A.D. on the basis of a small inscription which reads " Magar-dhwaj jogi, 700" inscribed on the door jambs of the main temple. Cunningham A., *A. S. I Reports*. IX. (Varaṇasi, 1966), p. 146. Prof. S. B. Deo assigns to 11-12th centuries A.D. on artistic basis.

[3] Cunningham A., *op. cit.*, p. 143.

Khajuraho. This made some scholars to name the place even as "the Khajuraho of Vidarbha."[4]

The Sculpture (*Fig. I*)

The present sculpture in question is one of the datable evidences at the place. Though noticed by many but not properly identified, it has come to the notice of the present writer while he was undertaking the documentation work at the place. Sir A. Cunningham while analysing the small lable inscription engraved on the top of the same sculptured stone, described the sculpture as "there is male figure with four arms carrying a battle axe and attended by two females. A snake encircles his waist may perhaps serve to identify the figure with Śiva but there is no other trace of the God, so far as I could see.[5] Subsequently Shri S. B. Deo, who did a monumental work on the temples, described the sculpture as "Śiva-Pārvatī, stray sculpture."[6]

The bas-relief under study is in a panelled niche carved on a huge red sand-stone measuring 1.05×0.65×0.30 Mts. It is a rare example as not only it represents the family scene of Śiva, but also contains a short label inscription over its flattened top. The schematic arrangement and also the treatment of the figures in the panel differ from that of others available at the spot.

The dimensions of the main niche in which the panelling is done, are 0.65 × 0.38 × 0.10 Mts. On the right side is the figure of Śiva seated in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana* (keeping his left leg bent resting on the seat while right one hanging down known also as *mahārājalīla* i.e., king's pose),[7] on a high platform apparently having some design at its outer face. The God has four hands of which the upper two hold *ḍamaru* and *paraśu* while the lower, unfortunately mutilated, probably suggest *abhaya* and *varada* or *siṁhakarṇa* postures. He is wearing a beaded-necklace (*kaṇṭhābharaṇa*) and *makara* and *vṛtta-kuṇḍalās* in his right and left ears respectively. His head-gear is one of coiled *jaṭāmukuṭa* having circular *prabhāmaṇḍala* at its back. There are *kaṅkaṇās* at his fore-arms. His facial features and position of his drooping eyes though not distinct, suggest that the god is at ease and happy, sitting with his consort and *kumāra*. The happy mood is further conveyed by the naturalistic manner in which the hooded serpent is winding the waist and the folded left leg of the God. The lord wears a pearl-studded *yajñopavīta* (*mukta-yajñopavīta*) and his thin silk lower garment (*antarīya*) is firmly tied to the waist with folds falling at the centre.

In the left half of the panel, the figure of Pārvati or Umā is carved. She is seated in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana* on a well designed stool (*pīṭha*) having a *kalaśa*

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[4] Deo S. B., *Mārkaṇḍi Temples* (Nagpur, 1973), p. 58.

[5] Cunningham A., *op. cit.*, p. 149.

[6] Deo S. B., *op. cit.*, facing page pl. XVI. 2.

[7] Saraswati S. K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture* (Calcutta, 1957), p. 128.

(vase)[8]. below. Though she is seated siderially (an early feature), the face is, however frontal. She has two hands of which the right one kept in *daṇḍa* or *Gajahasta* pose resting on her left knee, holds an object (not distinct), obviously a lotus flower, and the left is at her shoulder level in the act of adjusting the coiffure. She is decked with ornaments like anklets, (*nūpurās*), *bracelets* (*keyūrās*) *vaikakṣaka*, waist-band (*mekhalā*), necklaces (*kaṇṭhābharaṇas*), heavy ear-ornaments (*vṛtta-karṇa-kuṇḍalas*) and an elaborate head-dress (an early feature).[9]

In the extreme right above the Goddess is a female attendant standing and holding a *cauri* in her right hand. She is also decked with limited ornaments, having elaborate head-dress similar to that of Devi.

In between the figures of Umā and Śiva, there is the figure of Skanda, a boy virtually standing naked. He is touching his mother with the right hand and wearing a beaded waistband (*mekhalā*) and bracelets. The head is unfortunately mutilated.

Identification:

The panel which depicts the figures of Śiva, Pārvatī or Umā, Skanda and a lady attendant, a homely scene perhaps at Mount *Kailāsa*, is nothing but Somaskandamūrti-Śiva.[10] It is evident from the style and composition of the sculpture and also from the labelled inscription above, that this panel belongs to an early tradition, contemporary to the famous Gupta-Vākāṭaka and post-Vākāṭaka depictions at Deogarh (U.P.), Ajanta and Kanheri.[11] (Mahārāṣṭra) Further similar depiction of Śiva is described by Kālidāsa in his literary work particularly, (*Raghuvaṁśa* III, 23).[12] This form rarely represented in Northern India is often found in the Pallava monuments and Chola bronzes.[13]

The Date : Regarding the date of the panel, our reliable evidence is only a small label inscription consisting of three letters, carved on its top, which reads *prā-yi-srī*. The letters are of the 6th century A.D. characters (Fig. 2) From the style of the carving and also the palaeographical evidence, the sculpture can be assigned to a date not later than 6th-7th centuries A.D.[14] The short label inscription referred to above, perhaps refers to the donor or the sculpture of the panel.

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[8] In Pallava sculpture a water pot (*kalaśa*) is shown below the stool on which Śiva with his family is seated. *Ancient India* No. 6. Plt. XXIII.A.

[9] Coomaraswamy A., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. (New York, 1965). Plts. XLIII, Fig. 164, XLVI, Fig. 172.

[10] Gopinatha Rao T. A., *Elements of Hindu Iconography-II, Part I*, (Madras, 1916) p. 131.

[11] Fergusson J. and Burgess J., *Cave Temples of India*. (London, 1880). Fig. 42, Capital from Cave XXIV, at Ajanta and Pl. LV, I Buddhist litany., Kramrisch Stella, *The Art of India through the ages*, third edition (London, 1965), Pl. 52, Coomaraswamy A. K., *op. cit.*, Pl. XLVI, Fig. 172.

[12] Sivaramamurti C., *Ancient India*, No. 6 (Delhi, 1950), p. 58.

[13] Sivaramamurti C., *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIII, A, XXII, C.

The small Panel: Of particular interest is the figure of a man in action shown in a small niche on the extreme right of the same monolith. (Fig. I) Though the figure is broken at the head and hands, from the general depiction, he appeas to be a devotee. Instances of this sort are not wanting. A reference can be made to that extent of the collosal reclining Buddha of the *parinirvāṇa* shrine at Kasia (Kuṣinagara).

Conclusion :[15]

From what has been stated above, it is clear, that early sculptural activity existed at the Mārkaṇḍa group of temples. The standing temples of the 10-12th cents. A.D. are much later examples than the place, which attained great historical significance resulting in much elaboration and building of various structures within the complex. It is necessary to probe further and ascertain the antiquity and the early foundations of the various shrines. The stray *Śivaliṅgas*, the brick structural remains around, the ancient pottery and the fragmentary inscriptions of early date undoubtedly point out the potentiality of the site. The earlier style of art prevailing at the site has no relation whatsoever to the carvings on the existing temples of Medieval date.

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[14] Sir A. Cunningham reads it as *pra-ya-sri* and attributed the stone to a date not later than fifth or sixth century A.D.

[15] Coomaraswamy A. K., *op. cit.*, p. 84.

SOME SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE ANDHAU AND RELATED INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KṢATRAPA PERIOD

By

P. R. SRINIVASAN, Madras

Several inscriptions belonging to the time of the rulers of the Kārdamaka Kṣatrapa family are known from different parts of the Kutch region and southern Gujarat. They are distinguished by certain features of which some are noticed below. These features may be said to be due to the fact that these were the early attempts at drafting and engraving of the records for the information of the public.

The inscriptions chosen for examination here are the four inscriptions from Andhau[1], the three inscriptions from Gundā, Gaḍhā (Jasdan) and Junāgaḍh,[2] the inscriptions from Andhau, Wandh and Mēvāsā[3], and the inscription from Daulatpur[4].

As regards the objects on which these inscriptions are engraved, it is interesting to note that they are all engraved on undressed stone pillars and slabs of irregular shape. The record is sometimes engraved lengthwise on the pillars and sometimes breadthwise.

The characters of the early inscriptions are bold and well formed, e.g., the Andhau inscriptions, while the characters of the later inscriptions are not so. The spacing between the lines of the early inscriptions is well-thought out while it is not so in later inscriptions.

When we come to the texts of these inscriptions, the texts of some (e. g., the Andhau ones, and the Wandh inscription) start straightway with the word *Rājñaḥ* while in the inscriptions from Gundā, Mēvāsā etc. the word *Sidham* or *Siddham* is met with at the beginning. No other symbol or symbols are met with in them except in the case of the Mēvāsā inscription which has a group of three symbols at the top.

Interestingly all these inscriptions give the genealogy of the ruling king for two or three generations, incorporating therein the titles like *Rājan*, *Svāmi*, *Kṣatrapa* or *Mahākṣatrapa*, to each king as required at the time of the engraving of the record together with the details of the date. After this portion comes the passage containing the purport of the record. In a majority of instances the object of the inscriptions was the erection of *yaṣṭis* or memorial pillars, by some person or persons, in honour of a relative of his or them. A very important detail met with in this portion of the records relates to the *gōtras* of the persons figuring here. Further, besides individuals without any family names attached to them, (e.g. Sībila, Madana, Ṛṣabhadēva, and Trēṣṭadatta and Dhanadēva of Andhau inscriptions) some of the records make mention of the family name of Ābhīra to which the individual, who put up the memorial, belonged e.g. *Sēnāpati* Rudrabhūti of the Gundā inscription, and Vasudēva of the Mēvāsā inscription.

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XVI, pp. 19 ff. and plates.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 233 ff. and plates.

[3] *Ibid.*, Volume XXXVII, pp. 139 ff. plates.

[4] *Journal of the Oriental Institute* Volume XVIII, pp. 237 ff. and plate.

If we examine the Daulatpur inscription[5] in the light of the above discussion, it will be found to satisfy all the norms given above of the records of this group. So, it will appear that this record also belongs to the time of a king of the Kārdamaka Kṣatrapa family. But owing to the fact that the illustration of the record does not show clearly the letters in some places, the name of the king is difficult to make out. If we can make out this name, then the record should be assigned to him only. The date 254 read in it does not also seem to be clear. So, it will be seen that Īśvaradēva of the Ābhīra family figuring in the second part of the inscription was only an individual like Ṛṣabhadēva and Dhanadēva mentioned above, and this Ābhīra Īśvaradēva was evidently responsible for the putting up of the memorial. Anyway to be sure of these observations a good impression and a personal examination of the record will be necessary.

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 237 ff.

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[Prof. K. V. Sharma Felicitation Volume]

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[*The*] *Voice of Śaṅkara, Ādi Śaṅkara Advaita Research Centre, I.E. Roseword Offices, Nungambakkam High Road, Madras 600034*

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OBITUARY

Dr. (Miss) S. A. Nachane

The students, colleagues and friends of Dr. (Miss) Sulochana A. Nachane were severely shocked to hear the news of her sudden and unexpected demise on 9-1-1981.

Dr. (Miss) Nachane was born in Kaledhon (Ta. Khatan) Dist. Satara, on 22-1-1925. She passed her matriculation examination in 1942 with first class and got distinction in Mathematics, Sanskrit and Science. She won the School prize for getting highest marks in Sanskrit. In 1944, she passed Inter Arts examination in IInd Class with distinction in Sanskrit. She was offered scholarship at the S. P. College, Poona during her studies from 1942 to 1946. In 1946 she passed B. A. (Honours) examination in first class with entire Sanskrit and got the College fellowship from 1946-48. She passed the *Kāvyatīrtha* examination conducted by the Bengal Sanskrit Association, Calcutta in 1947 with first class. She passed her M. A. examination from the University of Bombay in 1948 in IInd class with 62% of marks with Sanskrit (Prin.) and Ardhamāgadhī (Sub.) (It may be noted that at that time one was expected to get 66% marks for getting first class.) She pocketed the highly coveted Zala Vedānta Sanskrit Prize for getting highest marks in special Vedānta paper. In 1949 she passed the Hindi Sāhityaratna examination conducted by the Prayag Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in IInd class. In 1951, she again appeared in M. A. examination of the University of Poona and passed the examination in first class with Ancient Indian Culture as her subject. In 1953 she was awarded the degree of Ph.D. for her thesis on 'Post-Śaṅkara Advaita Vedānta'.

During her period of study she was awarded Research Fellowship by the Government of India at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona from 1948-1951. Dr. (Miss) Nachane's mind was ever avid and she did not stop her study even during her career as a teacher in the M. S. University of Baroda. She passed the Diploma in German Examination of the M. S. University of Baroda in IInd Class in 1963. She also attended the Advanced Course in Linguistics conducted by the Osmaniya University and Linguistic Society of India in 1963 and studied Morphology and Syntax, Language teaching methods and comparative and historical methods.

Dr. Nachane started her career as an Honorary Lecturer in Sanskrit in the College for Girls, (closed in 1949) Huzurpaga, Poona from 1948-49. She joined the M. S. University of Baroda as Sr. Lecturer in Sanskrit in Aug. 1951 on a stop-gap arrangement as the proper selectee A. N. Jani was not available then. She worked on this post upto October 1951. But she again joined the

M. S. University as Jr. Lecturer in Sanskrit in Jan. 1952. Like her teacher Prof. R. D. Karmarkar she was interested in the NCC activities. She joined the NCC Dept. for part-time in the beginning and later on she devoted full-time to the NCC from 15-12-1964 to 21-6-1970. After this she gave up the NCC and resumed her duties in the Sanskrit Dept. and got the Readership on 24-12-1970, the position she held till she died.

Dr. Nachane was a very sincere and hard-working person not only during her career as a student but also in her career as a teacher. She was well-versed in her subject especially in the field of *Vedāntaśāstra*. She endeared herself amongst the students by her motherly love, as a result of which a big number of lady students were tempted to offer Sanskrit.

The introduction of Dr. Nachane to H. H. Shri Ranga Avadhūta Maharaj of Nareshwar gave a different turn to her life. She became a keen devotee of his and offered her services to the Ashram whenever needed. Shri Ranga Avadhuta's influence was discernible in her temparament as well as in her occassional public discourses. Dr. Nachane did not restrict her knowledge to the four-walls of the Faculty but also gave an advantage of her scholarship to the greedy persons in Baroda. Thus she gave weekly discourses on the *Upaniṣads* and the *Bhagavadgītā* in the Narayana Smruti Mandir under the auspices of the Narayana Satsang Mandal. She also occassionaly delivered lectures on the Dakṣiṇā-mūrti-stotra in the Red Cross Society Building under the auspices of the Ramkrishna Vivekananda Centre, Baroda.

Dr. Nachane's sound scholarship can be envisaged by her 12 learned articles on different authors of the Shankar School in the *Marathi Tattvajñāna Mahākośa* edited by Prof. D. D. Wadekar.

On account of her scholarship and motherly affection she was liked by all those who came in her contact. Her untimely death has created a gap in the contact. Her untimely death has created a gap in the Department of Sanskrit as well as in the academic and spiritual circles in Baroda and elsewhere.

May her soul get *sadgati* for ever.

A. N. JANI

REVIEWS

Vedic Themes by G. K. BHAT, Ajanta Publications, Delhi–110007, 1978, pp. viii + 120; Price: Rs. 35/-.

As Dr. V. Raghvan put in his "Introduction" to "Aśvinā in the Ṛgveda and Other Indological Essays" by G. C. Jhala (p. xix), "the collection of papers of scholars, scattered in various journals and publications, some of which may not be available or accessible, is a necessity these days, when it is common to see the young scholars embarking on their study or writing without a knowledge of what has already been written on the concerned subject" and especially from this point of view. It is a matter of pleasure to welcome this collection of papers in a book-form under the title: "Vedic Themes" by Dr. G. K. Bhat, who himself states that he has "brought together" his "writings on Vedic themes" prepared on different occasions and published earlier in different journals, but the article entitled "'Mother' in the Ṛgveda" is a new one and "Minor Enemies of Indra (I) Vala" is published here for the first time. (Acknowledgements, p. 120).

In the "Acknowledgements" (p. 120) the author has mentioned the name of the journal and the year of the publication of the articles in this book. The contents of the book are as follows :—

(1) The Conception of Mantra-devatā (pp. 1–16)
(2) The Genesis of Ṛgveda II.12 (pp. 17–27)
(3) The River-Crossing (Ṛgveda III.33) (pp. 28–38)
(4) About an Imagery in the Uṣas-sūktas (pp. 39–46)
(5) A Thought on the Saṃvāda-sūktas (pp. 47–54)
(6) Minor Enemies of Indra (I): Vala (pp. 55–65)
(7) Minor Enemies of Indra (II): Śambara (pp. 66–76)
(8) Teacher-Pupil Relation Part I (Vedic View) (pp. 77–89)
(9) Teacher-Pupil Relation Part II (Upaniṣadic View) (pp. 90–97)
(10) 'Mother' in the Ṛgveda (pp. 98-110)
(11) Karmopasaṅgraha (pp. 111–119)

With the author's point of view presented in the above-mentioned respective articles the book makes a very interesting and stimulating reading.

In this nice book one misses a select bibliography and an index, which would have added, it is felt, to the practical facility, especially, of the younger readers and researchers.

Dr. G. K. Bhat and publishers deserve our hearty congratulations for publishing this learned and useful collection and look forward to have many more such collections and new works from Dr. Bhat's pen.

S. G. KANTAWALA

Caraka Saṁhitā (Text with English translation and critical exposition based on Cakrapāṇidatta's Āyurveda Dīpikā) by R. K. SHARMA & BHAGWAN DASH, Pub. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, P. B. 8, Varanasi-1 (India) Vol. I. pp. XLVI + 620, Vol. II. pp. XIV + 598. Price Rs. 75 each.

Original source books in the field of Āyurveda are the ancient Saṁhitās among which the Caraka Saṁhitā occupies the highest position because of the following reasons.

1. The text is found complete.
2. It represents faithfully the Theory and Practice of the traditional school of Physicians which was dominating over other schools.
3. It is the most popular work and has been published in various editions from time to time.

Other contemporary Saṁhitās of Bhela, Hārīta, Jatūkarṇa, Parāśara and Kṣārapāṇi could not gain popularity. Among Bṛhattrayī, the Suśruta Saṁhitā belongs to the surgical school and the Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya is only a compilation from the two. Thus today Caraka Saṁhitā stands as the only ancient text which records the concepts and practice of Āyurveda faithfully. Hence for a scholar having curiosity for the knowledge of Āyurveda, study of the Caraka Saṁhitā becomes essential.

This being the position, several scholars from time to time wrote commentaries on the Caraka Saṁhitā and in this way apart from explaining the contents of the text they also expressed their own views, of course, based mostly on the available literature. There were also translations of the text in various languages. During the medieval period, the Arabic translation was very popular. This has been referred to by Al-beruni in 11th Cent. A.D. In modern times, the text, on one hand, was translated in Indian languages and, on the other hand, in European languages like English, German etc.

Though there is a number of Sanskrit commentaries on the Caraka Saṁhitā, the commentary known as 'Āyurvedadīpikā' by Cakrapāṇidatta is the most popular one and is perhaps the only medieval commentary available in complete form. Uptil now this remained quite unaccessible to the English-knowing people as there was no any English translation of the same.

The authors have done a great job by translating not only the text but the authoritative commentary as well. This will help the readers to understand the concepts of Āyurveda as enunciated by Caraka in their proper perspectives through the commentary.

The authors have made an attempt to put the ancient ideas into the contemporary garb so that the reader can have the definite identity of the same for their practical application though somewhere it has gone too far on which there is also remark in the foreword. The Botanical names of the plants have been given in each case which would be helpful in identifying the items correctly because the plants mentioned in Caraka and other ancient Saṃhitas are in a number of cases unknown and of doubtful identity.

The authors are wellknown to the world of scholars. Dr. R. K. Sharma, a renowned scholar of Samskrit, a top officer in the Ministry of Education and Vice-Chancellor of Sanskrit University, has deep insight of the Sanskrit texts and has a long and varied experience in this field. Dr. Bhagwan Dash, a Postgraduate in Āyurveda, Research degree holder in Ancient History and a high officer in the Ministry of Health has authored a number of books on various aspects of Āyurveda. He has also worked on some of the untouched texts like Yogaśataka and Ṭoḍarānanda.

This rare combination of two authors one belonging to Sanskrit and the other to Āyurveda has become very fruitful and this is the prime reason why this edition has excelled all the earlier editions done by individual scholars somehow lacking in one or the other side.

Although combination of the above two scholars in one person is ideally desirable for such works, the present work done jointly by the two scholars expert in their respective fields is quite commendable and provides a guide which was needed since long.

It would not be out of place to point out some of the discrepancies in the work :—

1. The technical terms should have been allowed to remain as such and English equivalents should have come in brackets because there is always risk in rendering them into modern terms. But the authors in overzeal, have, in most places, replaced the technical terms by modern terms. For example, the word ‘ Dhātu ’ has been rendered as ‘ tissue elements ’ (Su. 1-53) which does not convey the correct idea. Similarly, the word ‘ Haemetics ’ and ‘ Sedatives ’ have been used for ‘ Śoṇitasthāpana ’ and ‘ Vedanāsthāpana ’ respectively (Su. 4-7 (x)). The word ‘ bactericidal ’ used for ‘ Kṛmighna ’ (Su. 1-97 etc.) seems to be misleading because ‘ Kṛmi ’ in Āyurveda denotes the entire range of pathogenic organisms while ‘ bacteria ’ is a very small unit of that. ‘ Mahāsneha ’ is a technical word denoting a definite group which should have been retained as

such instead of translating it as 'important fats' (Su. 1-75). In certain cases, Sanskrit words as such have been put alongwith the english renderings within bracket while in others it has not been observed. Thus there is also lack of uniformity in the style. This can be seen in Su. 3-6.

2. Botanical names in a number of cases are not correct. In this connection, examples of Cirabilva (Su. 4-8 (III), Svarṇakṣirinī (Su. 4-8 (IV), Amlavetasa (Su. 4-8 (VI), Kapītana (Su. 4-8 (XXXIII), Asana (Su. 4-8 (XLIII), Tumba (Su. 4-8 (XLVII) etc. may be cited. It would have been better if the doubtful drugs would not have been given the botanical names till their identity is doubtlessly decided. The same plants coming many times have been given always the botanical name in brackets. This makes the translation some what cumbersome. It would have been better if they were given in appendix at the end of the text. This would have avoided unnecessary repetitions and made the reading easy.

3. Construction of sentences somewhere lacks compactness. For example, instead of putting one word for 'Āśraya' and 'Yoni' long clauses have been used (Su. 4-3). 'Varieties for 'Yoni' does not convey the correct idea.

4. In some cases, the rendering is erroneous. For example, the word 'Sāra' denotes the Heart-wood of the plants and not the aqueous extract (Su. 1-73). Similarly the renderings for praroha, Śuṅga (Su. 1-74), Agada (Su. 1-96), Maricāni (Su. 3-12), Bale Dve (Su. 3-22), Devadārūṇi (Su. 3-25), Kūla (Su. 8-19) etc. are also not correct.

5. Some of the terms have been left without rendering though they are not inaccessible. For example, the word 'Śryāhva' and 'Surāhva' are well known in the Ayurvedic circle but they have been put with question marks within brackets.

I wish these shortcomings are removed in coming volumes.

I congratulate the authors for the great labour they have put in translating the most authoritative text alongwith the commentary and thus filling up a gap continuing since long. The scholars are eagerly looking forward for the next volumes in the series.

P. V. SHARMA

Veda tathā Ṛṣi Dayānanda by SHRINIVAS SHASTRI, Pub. Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra, 1979, pp. 272, Price : Rs. 20-50 P.

The Nineteenth century witnessed and unprecedented revival of Vedic studies both in the West and the East. Intellectual giants like Roth, Max Müller, Whitney, Weber, Ludwig, Pischel, Geldner and Bergaigne who approached the Vedas from a purely historical and linguistic point of view edited and interpreted important Vedic texts. The keen interest evinced by the Western scholars in the Vedas created among the enlightened Indian intellectuals a new awareness about the importance of their ancient scriptures and encouraged them to make a fresh and rational approach to the Vedas with the result that some social reformers of the Nineteenth century derived considerable help from a new and rational interpretation of the Vedas in their movements of social and religious reforms to meet the proselytizing challenge of Christian missionaries to Hindu religion. Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī, the founder of the Āryasamāja who ranks foremost among the social reformers of the last century, attempted in his several works including the *Satyārtha-Prakāśa*, the *Ṛgvedādibhāṣya-Bhūmikā*, the *Śukla-Yajurveda-Bhāṣya* and the *Ṛgveda-Bhāṣya* (upto VII, 61, 2 only) a rational and at some places ingenious interpretation of the Vedas to conform to his views on social and religious reforms.

The book under review seeks to present Svāmī Dayānanda's viewpoint on various aspects of the Vedic problem such as the definition, nature, scope, authorship and subject-matter of the Vedas. There is no doubt that the author of the present work, Dr. Shrinivas Shastri, Professor of Dayananda Chair at the Kurukshetra University, is a profound scholar of Sanskrit who has delved deep into Svāmī Dayānanda's two principal works, namely, the *Satyārtha-Prakāśa* and *Ṛgvedādibhāṣya-Bhūmikā* to present faithfully Svāmījī's standpoint on the above-mentioned issues. In order to corroborate Svāmījī's views Dr. Shastri refers at some places to the Nirukta, the Pāṇinian Grammar, a few philosophical texts and the recent works of some Āryasamājist scholars. However, Dr. Shastri scrupulously refrains from making a historical, objective and critical appraisal of Svāmījī's contribution to the realm of Vedic interpretation, and similarly avoids to examine critically and historically the thesis propounded by Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī in respect of the definition, nature, scope and authorship of the Vedas. For instance, Svāmījī accepts only the Mantra-portion of the Vedic lore as " *Veda* " and rejects its definition proposed by some Sūtrakāras who hold that both the Mantra-portion and the Brāhmaṇa-portion constitute the Veda. If Dr. Shastri had historically and critically examined all relevant aspects of this problem, he would have naturally come to the conclusion that although Svāmījī's view is historically correct the position taken up by the Sūtrakāras has got its own constraint. For the Saṃhitās of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda consist of a mixture of the Mantra-portion and the Brāhmaṇa-portion. Therefore if only the Mantra-portion of these Saṃhitās is accepted as the Veda and their Brāhmaṇa-portion is denied this status, all the Saṃhitās of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda would lose their status as fullfledged Vedas, and such a narrow definition of the Veda is bound to offend the religious susceptibilities of the orthodox Hindus and especially of the followers of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda who consider their Saṃhitās to be Veda *par excellence*. While discussing Svāmījī's views on the various issues relating to the Vedas Dr. Shastri has completely ignored the results of important and outstanding Vedic researches conducted during the last hundred and fifty years, though he has chosen to include the names of a few modern works on the Vedas in the bibliography appended to his work. It would be ironical indeed if the application of the historical and critical method of research to test the validity of the propositions put forward by Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī is taken amiss by any of his followers, for Svāmījī himself being a relentless critic has laid down the laudable rule of conduct for a member of the Āryasamāja that he/she should be always prepared to accept truth and give up false notions. In my humble opinion, a dispassionate, objective and critical assessment of Svāmījī's works rather than mere reiteration of his well-known propositions would bring more honour and glory to the memory of the revolutionary saint who boldly propounded his unorthodox and rational theories of social and religious reforms making a fresh approach to the Vedas.

RAM GOPAL

Tantrasaṅgraha of Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji with Yuktidīpikā and Laghuvivṛti of Śaṅkara edited by K. V. SARMA, Pub: V. V. B. Institute, Punjab University, P.O. Sadhu Ashram Hoshiarpur, 1977, pp. 18 + 388, Price Rs. 50/-.

Those who dive into the ocean of Hindu mathematics get only a vague and bizarre picture of the state of mathematical knowledge which existed in the Vedic and Vedāngic periods. Starting with what they get from the Saṃhitas, Sulbasūtras, Siddhāntas etc. they leave the depths and wade through and aphoristic Ārya-bhaṭiyam of Āryabhaṭa, Pancha Siddhāntika of Varāhamihira, Brahma Sphuṭa Siddhānta and Khaṇḍakhādyaka, both of Brahmagupta, Pāṭigaṇita-Sāra or Trisatika of Śrīdhara, Gaṇita Sāra Saṅgraha of Mahāvira and come to Siddhānta Śiromani of Bhāskara and then they think that their pursuit has come to a close and invariably draw the curtain with the statement that a recession occurred in the mathematical activities in India thereafter. This statement has not only been challenged but also established as incorrect nearly a century and a half ago. The credit for a pioneering move in this direction goes to Charles M. Whish (an officer of the East India Company's civil service at Madras), whose article " On the Hindu Quadrature of the Circle, and the infinite Series of the proportion of the circumference to the diameter exhibited in the four Śāstras, the Tantra Saṅgraham, Yucti Bhāṣhā, Carana Padhati, and Sadratnamāla " was read on the 15th of December 1832 and later published in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 1835. The quotations from Tantra Saṅgraha given in this article clearly indicate that some results involving infinite series were known to Keralese mathematicians more than a couple of centuries prior to their discoveries by western mathematicians.

Whish's article certainly reveals that mathematical pursuit did thrive in Kerala during the Post-Bhāskara period; but this article remained almost unnoticed for about a century. In recent years our knowledge of Keralese mathematics has been considerably enriched by the publication of a number of treatises, along with their commentaries, many of which were inaccessible to the interested readers.

The authors (as are known at present) of the four works, mentioned in the title of Whish's article are Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji (1444-1545), Jyeṣṭhadeva (c. 1500-1610), Puthumana Somayāji (c. 1660-1740) and Śaṅkara Varma (1800-1838) respectively. Tantra Saṅgraham is the earliest among them.

The book under review is an edition of Tantra Saṅgraha of Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji with the commentaries Yukthi-dīpika (which extends only through chapters I to IV) and Laghuvivṛti (for the remaining chapters V to VIII). The first commentary Yuktidīpikā gives an elaborate ex-position of the mathematical and astronomical concepts and computations in simple verses, while the second commentary, Laghuvivṛti, is concise and matter of fact. The text of Tantra Saṅgraha along with the commentary Laghuvivṛti had already been issued through Trivandrum Sanskrit series, No. 188 (1958). The editor of the present edition claims that the portion of Laghuvivṛti included here has been made more reliable and critical by the employment of two highly accurate manuscripts.

Since only a very little is known of Keralese mathematicians cum astronomers and their works, a few words about the author of Tantra Saṅgraha may not be out of place.

The author of Tantra Saṅgraha is Nīlakaṇṭha who is generally referred to with the title Somayāji, Somasūtvan or Comātiri (the last being the Malayalam derivative of the Sanskrit word). Nīlakaṇṭha hailed from Tṛ-k-kaṇṭi-yūr (Sanskritised into Śrī Kuṇḍ pura or Śrī Kuṇḍa grāma) near Tirur, S. Railway, Ponnani Taluka in South Malabar, a famous seat of learning in Kerala during the middle ages. The name of his Illam, as the house of a Nampūtiri brāhmin is called, was Keḷallūr (sometimes spelt also as Kerallūr and Keḷannūr) sanskritised into Kerala-sad-grāma corresponding to the malayalam word Kerala-nall-ūr. Nīlakaṇṭha belonged to the Gārgya-gotra, was a follower of the Āśvalāyana-sūtra of Ṛgveda and was a Bhāṭṭa. He was the son of Jātavedas and had a younger brother named Śaṅkara. Nīlakaṇṭha's favourite deity was Lord Śiva installed in the famous temple at Tṛpparaññoḍ (Sanskrit, Śrī-Parakroḍa also Śrī Śvetāraṇya) near his village.

Nīlakaṇṭha had composed several works on Astronomy, in which subject he had made intensive as well as extensive investigations, a fact well borne out by his available works.

There are many references in his writings to show that Nīlakaṇṭha was intimately connected to and was patronised by Kauṣītaki Āḍhya Netranārāyaṇa, known locally as Āzhvāñceri Tamprākkal, the religious head of the nampūtiri brahmins of Kerala, who used to discuss with Nīlakaṇṭha difficult points of Astronomy—a subject in which he (the Tamprākkal) was interested.

It was Dāmodara, son of Parameśwara—the author of Kerala Dṛgganita—who actually initiated Nīlakaṇṭha into the Science of Astronomy and instructed him on the various principles underlying mathematical calculations. Nīlakaṇṭha himself has said that as a boy he stayed with his guru (teacher), at the latter's residence prosecuting his studies. Nīlakaṇṭha followed the foot-steps of Parameśwara—founder of the Dṛggaṇita system of Astronomy in Kerala and one of the foremost astronomers of the land. For Nīlakaṇṭha, Parameśwara was not only the revered father of his guru but was also his Parama-guru (ultimate preceptor), by which term he refers to Parameśwara in his works.

One of Nīlakaṇṭha's works viz. the Siddhānta-darpaṇa and the author's own commentary thereon give the year and actual date of his birth which works out to 14th June 1444 A.D. That Nīlakaṇṭha lived to a ripe old age, even to become a centenarian, is attested by a contemporary reference made of him in a Malayalam work on Astrology viz. the Praśna-sāra by Mādhava, a Nampūtiri brāhmin of Īñcakkāzhvā house in Kerala, who wrote the above-mentioned work in A.D. 1542-43. Here Mādhava says that he could count upon reputed authorities like 'Keḷallūr' to recommend his work.

Tantra-Saṅgraha was written by Nīlakaṇṭha in 1500 A.D.

Now let us turn our attention to the contents of the book. Tantra-Saṅgaha is a full fledged text on Hindu Astronomy cum Mathematics. The book contains 432 stanzas (verses) in eight chapters. The concept of time, solar and lunar months, computation of kali days etc. are dealt with in the first chapter. Determinations of the positions and orbits of the Sun, the Moon and the planets with special reference to Mercury and Venus are discussed in the second chapter. The third chapter describes the gnomon and the gnomonic shadows, calculation of celestial coordinates by making use of the gnomon and its shadow while the fourth and fifth chapters discuss the lunar and solar eclipses. Vyatipāta and its calculations are dealt with in the sixth and seventh chapters. Further studies on the moon and planets are undertaken in the last (eighth) chapter.

The mathematical topics like ratio and proportion, variation, mathematical series, the theory of continued fractions, trigonometric functions etc. have also been dealt with in this work.

Commentaries: Yuktidīpikā and Laghuvivṛti :

Yuktidīpikā, a commentary in verse on Tantra Saṅgraha, is published for the first time in the volume under review. It would seem that, more than commenting on the text of the Tantra Saṅgraha, the commentator was specially concerned with the exposition of the broad conceptions and the methodologies of Mathematics and Astronomy as understood and practised in Kerala during his times. To him, the kārikas of the Tantra Saṅgraha were no more than pegs on the wall to spread out the canvas of his mathematical acumen.

In order to appreciate the real aim of the commentator, it is necessary to understand the exact relationship the commentary bears to a malayalam work 'Yuktibhāṣā' (Mathematical) Rationale (explained in malayalam) language and also the purpose for which the latter work had been composed by Jyeṣṭhadeva (c. A. D. 1500-1610), a nampūtiri, brahmin of the Parakroḍa family (Paraṅṅoṭṭu nampūtiri, in malayalam). In the work he refers to Nīlakaṇṭha, the author of Tantra Saṅgraha, as Āchārya (teacher) and specifies his objective in composing the work 'to expound, in full, the calculations that are useful in computing the planetary movements in accordance with (the enunciations) in the Tantra Saṅgraha.' 'Yuktībhāsā does not claim to be a commentary on the Tantra Saṅgraha; its aim is to provide the basic equipments needed for a study of the computation of planetary movements as depicted in the Tantra Saṅgraha. While the first part of Yuktibhāṣā concerns itself with the mathematical preliminaries the second part of the work deals with Astronomy proper.

"The aim of the TS Commentary (Yuktidīpikā), as could be gathered from its way of exposition, seems to be threefold. (1) To present in lucid Sanskrit verse the mathematical and astronomical material presented in the Malayalam language in the Yuktibhāṣā, in pursuance of which a number of prose passages in the Yuktibhāṣā have been adapted into Sanskrit verse in the TS Com, (2) to supplement it with additional material of his own; and (3) rearrange and present, according to the sequence of the verses of the TS, the material found distributed in the Yuktibhāṣā. "

Yuktidīpikā introduces and discusses a large number of topics which are not actually stated in the textual verses of the TS, but which are useful for their correct understanding and proper appreciation. The exposition which is couched in simple, racy anuṣṭup verses makes his treatment all the more effective.

Laghuvivṛti is very concise and there are no poetic elaborations which characterise Yuktidīpikā. Laghuvivṛti form a complement to the Yuktidīpikā. While the Yuktidīpikā explains elaborately the mathematical and Astronomical results in the Tantra Saṅgraha, the Laghuvivṛti is primarily concerned with a statement of the collocation of calculations (Kriyakalāpa) enunciated in the Tantra Saṅgraha verses. And, when needed, the larger commentary is called attention to in the smaller commentary.

Both the Yukti-dīpikā and the Laghuvivṛti were written by Śaṅkara Vāriar of Tṛ-k-kuṭaveli near Ottappalam in North Kerala. This Śaṅkara Vāriar was a disciple of Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji. Based on evidences now available, Śaṅkara's date can be fixed as c. A.D. 1500-60. Laghuvivṛti was written in 1556 A.D. and Yukti-dīpikā a few years earlier.

The Yukti-dīpikā being a repository of the mathematical and astronomical tradition prevalent in Kerala about A.D. 1500, it is but natural that it should digest the contributions of several authorities besides presenting the author's own views. Indeed a few works and authors have been named in the Yukti-dīpikā. These include the Āryabhaṭīya, Sūrya Siddhānta and Siddhānta Śiromaṇi among authorities of all-India prevalence, and Saṅgama-grāma Mādhava Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji and Śaṅkara's primary source, 'Parakroḍāvāsa dvijavara' Jyeṣṭhadeva. There are also a number of passages which are apparently quotations given anonymously some of which have been identified and their references indicated in the present edition. Thus, as in the case of many works written by ancient Indian scholars, here too one is at a loss to know which of the statements are the author's original and which have been collected or adapted from their preceptors or earlier works. Anyhow one thing we can assert, without fear of contradiction, is that Tantra Saṅgraha and Yukti-dīpikā together give us a picture of the achievements of Keralese mathematicians-cum-astronomers upto about the middle of the sixteenth century A.D.

To describe, in full, the mathematical results contained in the Tantra Saṅgraha (T.S.) and Yukti-dīpikā (Y.D.) will be a long drawn out programme; so we shall confine ourselves to some of the outstanding and perhaps 'amazing' results :

(i) If 'R' is the radius of a circle, 'l' the length of an arc whose sine and cosine chords are 's' and 'c' respectively, then according to the stanzas 206 to 208 of chapter II of Y.D. we have the result :

$$l = \frac{sR}{c} - \frac{sR}{c}\,\frac{s^2}{c^2} + \frac{sR}{c} \cdot \frac{s^4}{c^4} - \;..\quad ..\quad ..\quad .. \qquad \text{I}$$

(ii) Stanzas 212-214, chapter II of Y.D. enunciates the following result :

$$\pi D = \sqrt{12\,D^2}\left\{1 - \frac{1}{3 \times 3} + \frac{1}{5 \times 3^2} - \frac{1}{7 \times 3^3} + \dots\right\} - \qquad \text{II}$$

D being the diameter of the circle.

(iii) Let D be the diameter of a circle then verse 271 of chapter II of Y.D. says :

$$\pi D = 4D\left\{1 - \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{7} + \dots\right\}\;..\quad ..\quad .. \qquad \text{III}$$

(iv & V) Verses 440-444 of chapter II of Y.D., when put in symbols, give

$$\sin\theta = \theta - \frac{\theta^3}{\lfloor\underline{3}} + \frac{\theta^5}{\lfloor\underline{5}} - \dots \quad \dots \quad \dots \quad \dots \quad \dots \quad \dots \qquad \text{IV}$$

$$1 - \cos\theta = \frac{\theta^2}{\lfloor\underline{2}} - \frac{\theta^4}{\lfloor\underline{4}} + \dots \quad \dots \quad \dots \quad \dots \quad \dots \quad \dots \qquad \text{V}$$

Here are some results connecting the circumference '*c*' and the diameter '*d*' of a circle :—

$$\text{(a)} \quad c = 16d \left\{ \frac{1}{1^5 + 4.1} - \frac{1}{3^5 + 4.3} + \frac{1}{5^5 + 4.5} - \dots \dots \right\} \dots \qquad \text{VI}$$

(Stanzas 287-288 of chapter II of Y.D.)

$$\text{(b)} \quad c = 3d + 4d \left\{ \frac{1}{3^3 - 3} - \frac{1}{5^3 - 5} + \frac{1}{7^3 - 7} - \quad \right\} \dots \quad \dots \qquad \text{VII}$$

(Stanza 290 of chapter II of Y.D.)

$$\text{(c)} \quad c \doteqdot 2d + 4d \left\{ \frac{1}{2^2 - 1} - \frac{1}{4^2 - 1} + \dots \pm \frac{1}{n^2 - 1} \mp \frac{1}{2[(n+1)^2 + 2]} \right\} \dots \qquad \text{VIII}$$

n being even and large

(Verse 292 of chapter II of Y.D.)

An approximation by means of a finite sum is given in verses 272-274 of chapter II of Y.D. thus :—

$$\text{(d)} \quad c \doteqdot 4d \left\{ 1 - \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{5} - \dots \dots \pm \frac{1}{n} \mp \frac{\left(\frac{n+1}{2}\right)}{(n+1)^2 + 1} \right\}$$

when *n* is large IX

A better approximation is given in verses 295-296 of chapter II of Y.D.

$$\text{(e)} \quad c \doteqdot 4d \left\{ 1 - \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{5} - \dots \pm \frac{1}{n} \mp \frac{\left(\frac{n+1}{2}\right)^2 + 1}{[(n+1)^2 + 4 + 1]\left(\frac{n+1}{2}\right)} \right\} \dots \qquad \text{X}$$

Stanzas 10-13 of chapter II of Tantra Saṅgraha can be rendered as follows:

$$\sin(x + \theta) = \sin x + \frac{\theta}{R}\cos x - \frac{\theta^2}{2R^2}\sin x \quad \dots \quad \dots \quad \dots \qquad \text{XI}$$

$$\cos(x + \theta) = \cos x - \frac{\theta}{R}\sin x - \frac{\theta^2}{2R^2}\cos x \quad \dots \quad \dots \quad \dots \qquad \text{XII}$$

Now let us compare these achievements with those of western mathematicians :—The Scotch mathematician James Gregory obtained the infinite series :

$$\text{arc tan } x = x - \frac{x^3}{3} + \frac{x^5}{5} - \frac{x^7}{7} + \ldots\ldots \quad (-1 < x < 1) \text{ in 1671.}$$

He is considered to be the first to publish this result and the result is referred to as Gregory's series. This series is the same as the series I given above.

Not noted by Gregory is the fact that for $x = 1$ the series becomes

$$\frac{\pi}{4} = 1 - \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{7} + \ldots\ldots$$

This slowly convergent series was known to Leibniz in 1674. It is quite obvious that this is the same as the series III given above.

In 1699 Abraham Sharp found the value of π correct to 71 places of decimal by using Gregory's series with $x = 1/\sqrt{3}$, which is the same as series I given above.

The sine and cosine series i.e., series IV and V above, were discovered by Isaac Newton in 1670 and Leibniz in 1676.

Series XI and XII are particular cases of the well-known Taylor series (published in 1715).

$$f(x - h) = f(x) + hf'(x) + \frac{h^2}{\lfloor 2} f''(x) + \ldots$$

for the sine and cosine resp. upto the second power of the small quantity (in radians when using Taylor series).

Results I to XII clearly indicate that Keralese Mathematicians had attained ' high proficiency ' in handling infinite series before the middle of the sixteenth century. The credit for the pioneering explorations in the domain of the branch known as Mathematical Analysis has to go to those savants responsible for the discovery of the results mentioned above and along with that the title ' Cradle of Mathematical Analysis ' should belong to Kerala. This, in fact, is what has been highlighted by this publication of the Tantra Saṅgraha and Yukti-dīpikā.

The three appendices viz. (i) an index of half verses and key passages in the Tantra Saṅgraha (ii) an index of authorities cited in the Tantra Saṅgraha and its commentaries and (iii) an index : Glossary of technical terms, given at the end of the book, have added to the reference worthiness of this edition.

Mr. K. V. Sarma was able to consult four manuscripts of the Yukti-dīpikā and twelve manuscripts of the Laghuvivṛti in preparing this edition. Certainly Mr. Sarma deserves applause for bringing out such a valuable edition of the Tantra Saṅgraha and its commentaries, esp. the Yukti-dīpikā, after laborious and careful ' combing and sifting ' of the material kept at various repositories and also for the very informative Introduction containing lot of details about the Tantra Saṅgraha, its author Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji and the commentator Śaṅkara Vārier.

Had the edition been provided with a summary of the discussion in English at the end of each topic, the usefulness of the publication would have been much greater.

S. PARAMESWARAN

Jyotirmīmāṁsā of Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji, Edited by K.V.SARMA. Publishers : V. V. B. Institute of Sanskrit & Indological Studies, Panjab University, P. O. Sadhu Ashram, Hoshiarpur.

"The Jyotirmīmāṁsā (Investigations on Astronomical theories) of Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji, a prominent mediaeval astronomer of Kerala (A.D. 1444-1545), is a unique work in Hindu astronomy. Nīlakaṇṭha takes astronomy primarily as a practical discipline based on experimentation and observation. He insists that results arrived at by computation should tally with observation and that astronomical parameters and other constants should be revised periodically towards this purpose. The present work has been composed by him to set out forcibly this point of view. Inter alia he examines critically various corrections suggested by earlier astronomers, compares the results arrived at, gives his reactions and suggests further lines of action. Quite often, this is done through simulated discussions with imaginary opponents belonging to other schools of astronomy. who propose their views (pūrva-pakṣa), while Nīlakaṇṭha sets out his view (siddhānta-pakṣa), after critically analysing the other views, in the manner in which philosophic disquisitions are couched. It is this critical approach to astronomical problems that make the work unique in Indian scientific literature in Sanskrit" says the editor in his introduction to this publication.

This edition is based on the only available manuscript of Jyotirmīmāṁsā, which is incomplete—without beginning and end and also having some gaps in the middle.

The fifty-five paged text contains the following—' At the outset, Nīlakaṇṭha draws attention to two eclipses which actually occurred during his time, but whose occurrence would not have been predicted correctly had they been computed through the astronomical constants given in the Gītikā-pāda of Āryabhaṭīya. Nīlakaṇṭha explains that it was for this very reason that Āryabhaṭa held astronomy to be a practical discipline and recommended the verification and revision of his own astronomical constants by observation. Nīlakaṇṭha then takes pains to demonstrate the place of experimentation and logical inference in the maintenance and furtherance of astronomical tradition. Having established the necessity of revising planetary parameters periodically, Nīlakaṇṭha presents the corrections propounded to the parameters of Āryabhaṭa at different times by astronomers like Haridatta, Govinda, Brahmagupta, Lalla and so on.

The author then poses a question as to how the means of certain planets calculated according to different systems differ even though the numbers of their revolutions per kalpa as given in the said systems are the same. In answer, it is demonstrated that it is so because the number of civil days in kalpa differs in the different systems resulting in a corresponding difference in the mean also.

Based on a passage from the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, as expounded by the well-known Vedic scholiast Sāyaṇa-Mādhava in his work Kālanirṇaya, it is specified that Smṛti, Pratyakṣa, Aitihya and Ānumāna (inference)—are all means to determine the rates of planetary motion.

For an estimation of the relative accuracy of the different systems, Nīlakaṇṭha adopts the ingenious method of computing the planets' positions on a common date. For this purpose Kaliday 16, 82, 112 is chosen, it being a date occurring in A.D. 1604 and so, contemporary to his own times. The results obtained are then correlated to observation.

Well defined eclipses being the most convenient natural phenomena for the verification of astronomical systems and effecting corrections thereto, the utilisation thereof is stressed by Nīlakaṇṭha. He not only indicates the procedure for verification but also illustrates his instructions by means of a practical example. The precession of the equinoxes which has also a bearing on the results is touched upon here.

Nīlakaṇṭha then rationalises from fundamentals the graphical proofs for the Pythagoras theorem—the discussion is, however incomplete, the manuscript having a long break here.

Errors in results arise on account of the observer being stationed on the earth's surface, while the basic measures relate to the centre of the Earth-sphere or to the horizontal plane thereof. These are corrected by reducing the basic angular distances to the dṛggola (visible celestial sphere). Nīlakaṇṭha rationalises this type of correction with reference to the orb of the Moon. Conversely, in the case of the gnomonic shadow, it is the measure on the dṛggola that needs to be reduced to that of the bhagola (sphere of the zodiac). The rationalisation of the processes involved forms the last section in the present manuscript, which breaks off halfway during the middle of the said discussion'.

The reason for publishing this fragmentary manuscript has been explained by the editor thus :—" In view of the unique nature of the work and its highly logical line of approach in discussing astronomical theories and practices, it is being placed before the scholarly world in spite of the edition having to be based on a single incomplete manuscript. It is hoped that this work will provide a typical instance of rational scientific thinking in mediaeval India ".

S. PARAMESWARAN

The Philosophy of Nāgārjuna as contained in the Ratnāvalī by HERAMBA CHATTERJEE SASTRI, Part I (containing the Text and Introduction only), Saraswat Library, Calcutta-6, First Edition, 1977; p. 103 and Price Rs. 30.

The book under review contains an Introduction (pp. 1-79) dealing with Nāgārjuna and his works (pp. 10-25), his Mādhyamika doctrine (pp. 25-59), his theory of two Satyas (pp. 60-70) and a gist of his Ratnāvalī (pp. 71-79), and gives us the Sanskrit text of the Ratnāvalī in the Deva-nāgarī script (pp. 83-100) and a short bibliography (pp. 101-103).

The text of the Ratnāvalī has already been edited long ago by Dr. G. Tucci (JRAS., London, 1934 & 1936). It has also been reprinted by Dr. P. L. Vaidya (Madhyamaka-śāstra, Darbhanga, 1960, Appendix).

Anyway, the printed text of the Ratnāvalī consists of Chs. I, II and IV only of which Chs. I and II are not complete. Ch. III is missing.

A Tibetan translation of the complete text is available in the Bstan-Ḥgyur.[1]

There is also a Tibetan translation of Ajitamitra's commentary on the text.

However, the Ratnāvalī is an authentic text of Nāgārjuna inasmuch as it has been cited by Candrakīrti. Further, the basic doctrine of this text has many parallels in Nāgārjuna's other works.

Nāgārjuna's Ratnāvalī is in the form of a religious counsel to some unidentified king. This work does not record a systematic representation of Nāgārjuna's teachings. The matter has not been classified neatly and as such there are cases of overlapping. The materials are found scattered at random and interspersed with metaphysics. The concept of nirvāṇa (salvation) is stated to be non-dual (a-dvaya = koṭi-dvaya-śūnya = koṭi-dvaya-vinirmukta). This unpredicable tṛtīya-koṭi (Absolute) is thus neither sat (existent) nor a-sat (non-existent). Similarly the theories of aham (I-ness > ego), mama (my-ness > possession) and the five skandha-s (categories like vijnana, etc.) are neither-positive-nor-negative by nature. The external world of appearance (Erscheinungswelt) is, like an unreal mirage maricikā = luft spiegelung), neither, Sein nor, Nichtsein '. The momentary (kṣaṇika) metempsychosis (saṁsāra) as explained away by the theory of dependent origination (pratitya-samutpāda = abhangige Entstehung) cannot be said to be real. Any categorization will entail the retribution of good and bad deeds in the future births.

Besides, there are references to the perfections (pāramitās) like dāna (charity), śīla (morality), kṣamā (forbearance), etc.

Faith in this doctrine and piety will ensure prosperity and salvation to the believer.

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[1] Nāgārjuna's works are known to us in Sanskrit and their Tibetan and Chinese translations.

Thus Nāgārjuna's Ratnāvalī treats of his non-dual metaphysics along with an incidental moralistic note and popular propaganda. This minor work appears to supplement the ideas contained in his major works.

The Introduction is full of scholarly references.

But no reference to Die Philosophie Des Buddhismus by Dr. E. Frauwallner (Berlin, 1958) is found in the otherwise informative bibliography of the book.

More care should have been bestowed on the printing of the Sanskrit text in the Deva-nāgarī script and the citations in the Roman script so as to make them citable and dependable as references.

Barring the misprints the work is a welcome publication of a scholar like Dr. Chatterjee.

We are waiting for the publication of Dr. Chatterjee's Part II in which he proposes to give us his commentary in Sanskrit on the text along with a translation in English.

BISWANATH BHATTACHARYA

Laghutattvasphoṭa of Amṛtacandrasūri Edt. by PADMANABH S. JAINI, Professor of Buddhist Studies, University of California, Berleley, Published by L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-380009, 1978, Pp. 40 + 258, Price Rs. 50/-.

The work under review is a philosophical manual, cast in the form of a philosophical-cum-devotional poem, belonging to the literary genre called '*stotra*', composed under the influence of the Bhakti movement of the early medieval period.

The colophon at the end of the work mentions the title of the work as "*śakti-maṇita-kośo nāma laghutattva-sphoṭaḥ*". While discussing the significance of the title Dr. Jaini remarks in his Introduction (p. 2) that the word *maṇita* is obscure and probably stands for *maṇi* (jewel) or could be a scribal error for *bhaṇita*. Clearly the editor is groping here for the correct significance, though unsuccessfully. The word *maṇita* is not obscure. It is generally known in the sense of an inarticulate murmuring sound uttered at cohabitation (ratikūjita), as has been recorded both by Amara and Hemacandra. Amṛtacandrasūri seems to have utilised the word rather metaphorically to indicate his supposedly inarticulate murmurings arising during the union of the power of his poetic genius with that of the philosophico-mystical genius of the Tīrthaṅkaras. Thus Dr. Jaini unnecessarily invokes the theory of scribal error, since there is no other instance in the whole work where a similar error is noticed ! His endeavour to trace the etymology of the word *maṇita* from *maṇi* (jewel) is but an exercise in ignorance. The part *Śakti-maṇita-kośa* of the title denotes that the work is a sort of collection of such poetic verses as embody his ecstacy of the union with the divine. And the word *laghu-tattva-sphoṭa* refers to the genre of the work and conveys that it contains the verbal flashes of the truths (or tenets of Jainism) in a nutshell. In other words it is supposed to be a sort of brief philosophical manual in poetic garb. Dr. Jaini thinks the title to be rather austere. It is simply not so. In fact it is both suggestive and highly poetical and quite in keeping with his fervent devotional tenor. The work is a product of the impact of the Bhakti movement on the aetheistic, and hence austerely dry, philosophy of Jainism, which would not otherwise admit of a deity nor his blessings. The surge of the movement and the induction of Brahminical scholars, steeped in the surge prior to their conversion to Jainism, seems to have started a fashion of such compositions, which catered to the emotional needs of the Jaina masses, living more by faith and feelings than by logical exactitude of the philosophical tenets and their minutae. At the same time it appealed to the learned too by their charming poetry set in exquisite scholarship. As a result almost every major writer of the post-canonical period has a *stotra* to his name. Dr. Jaini has noticed that the *Dvātriṁśikā* of Siddhasena Divākara (5th cent. A.D.) and the *Svayambhū-stotra* of Svāmī Samantabhadra (6th cent. A.D.) appear to have served as models for the work of Amṛtacandrasūri.

The work is divided into twenty-five chapters, each containing twenty-five verses. The chapters are not given their individual titles. As has been noted by the editor, Amṛtacandrasūri seems to have intended to deal with a specific topic in each of the chapters, but he could not prevent the various themes from getting mixed up to some extent. As a philosophical manual the work would seem to be marred by many repetitions of themes and the chapters would look a bit disconnected. But as a piece of philosophical poem it is an excellent work both profound and poetic.

The first chapter, which is a veritable *nāmāvalī* of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, devotes one verse each to each of them, with the last verse serving as a sort of a colophon of the chapter. Dr. Jaini hazards a guess that Amṛtacandrasūri probably composed this chapter as an independent work to be used as a 'Caturviṁśati-stava', an important part of an ancient Jaina liturgy. It might or might not be so for sure. But most probably it is intended as an introductory chapter, with which the rest of the twenty-four ones are integrally connected, each one composed in honour of the Tīrthaṅkaras in their successive order, while all of them are saturated with the philosophy of and devotion to, all the Tīrthaṅkaras addressed in their totality by their class-name '*Jina*', along with other common epithets like *Vibhu*, *Deva*, *Svāmin*, *Īśa*, *Bhagvān Prabhu*, *Paramātman*, and etc. The first chapter, according to Dr. Jaini, is also the most formidable part of the entire work in to far as the poet turns quite a few of its verses into veritable riddles. The second chapter treats the problem of the dichotomy of the multiform (*vaiśva-rūpya*) and the uniform (ekarūpatā) nature of the cognition of the Jina. The Third chapter provides one of the finest accounts of the spiritual career of a Jina found in the entire Jaina literature. The fourth and the fifth chapters continue with the theme of the omnipresent Jina seated in the holy assembly. Incidentally, it should be remarked that Dr. Jaini has translated the word ' vibhu ' as ' omniscient ' throughout the work, perhaps due to oversight or reliance on his student,both of them forgetting that it is the word ' sarvajña ', used only once in xii. 4 (p. 95), that means ' omniscient ', while the word ' vibhu ' should mean ' omnipresent ', and in fact it is used by the poet in that sense only, making Jina a sort of an amalgam of Vedantic Brahman with its personal and impersonal aspects beautifully blended with the Jainistic ontological non-determinism. The sixth chapter returns once more to the ascetic path of the nascent Jina, discussed in the third chapter. The seventh chapter emphasises Jina's nature as Pure-Consciouness (śuddha-bodha). The eighth chapter shows the Jina as supreme Teacher, the *Āpta.* The ninth chapter takes up once more the spiritual career of the nascent Jina. The tenth chapter praises the Jina from the standpoint of the purified, view (*śuddhanaya*). Chapters eleven and twelve continue the theme of *śuddha-naya.* The thirteenth chapter continues the topic of the supremacy of the Jaina *darśana* according to the *śuddha-naya,* while trying to strike a balance between the *niścaya-naya and the vyavahāra-naya.* The fourteenth chapter explores the nature of Jina both sequentially considering each quality (*guṇa*) separately, and simultaneously considering his substance (dravya) in its unity. The fifteenth chapter further attends to the *vidhi-pratiṣedha* method mentioned in the previous chapter (xiv, 13, p. 115). In the sixteenth chapter the poet applies the twin laws of causation and being to the cognition of the Jina. In the seventeenth chapter the poet discusses the relationship between words, the qualification ' *syāt* ' (" may be ") and the reality expressed by them. Chapter eighteen and nineteen continue further with the dual nature (*dvyātmakatva*) of the existent and the manner in which that nature is harmonized by the device of *syādvāda.* The twentieth chapter is interesting as a critique of Buddhist doctrine, and the author seems to be willing to accept the Vedantic doctrine, as a synthetic view-point or *Saṅgraha-naya* (xx. 2, p. 164), and the Buddhist momentariness as a straight-thread view-point or ṛju-sūtra-naya (xx. 3, p. 164), both being valid in so far as they represent reality as it is successively perceived. Dr. Jaini here points out (Intro., p. 25) that although such an ' assimilation ' appears to be technically possible, the whole exercise is purely poetical, and that in all this Amṛtacandra is not without a precedent since even Buddha is said to have resorted to a similar device to overcome the criticism of his opponents. The twenty-first chapter is probably a criticism of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system. The chapters twenty-two, twenty-three and twenty-four touch repeatedly upon the author's favourite themes of omniscient cognition and its incorruptibility by the impact of the objects cognized. The twenty-fifth and final chapter deals with Karma-jñāna samuccaya, the integration of action and knowledge, which would appear to be the heart of Jaina teaching.

In the learned Introduction with critical comments, Dr. Jaini has elaborately analyzed the minutae of the contents of Amṛtacandra's text chapterwise, and has also discussed in brief the relevant topics of the authorship and date (10th Cent. A.D.), the tradition of the genre, a comparison of this work with the author's another work, the *Samayasāra-kalaśa*, and has given at the conclusion a beautiful picture of Amṛtacandra as a devotee.

The task of translating such a work was indeed a formidable one. But, except for a few minor cases of oversight such as the one quoted above or the very first line of the very first verse in which the compound expression " ādidevabhagavān " in the nominative is taken to be two separate words and the former one rendered as one in the vocative " O Ādideva ", Dr. Jaini has done a good job of it with the help of Hindi expository comment on the work by Pandit Pannalal Sahityacharya, and it has been further rendered readable and intelligible to the Western reader, thanks to the invaluable assistance of Joseph Clack, his student.

The Verse Index and Index of Sanskrit Words appended at the end are quite useful. But the latter would have been more so if the editor had chosen to add the meanings too. While the Notes at the end of the Introduction does in a way acknowledge and indicate the references, a bibliography in the alphabetical order, as also a table of contents seem to have been forgotten.

However, Dr. Jaini has given us a good edition of the work along with its English translation, and in the process brought to light a totally unknown, but profoundly learned and fervently devotional work by a celebrated Digambara scholar Amṛtacandrasūri, that was hailed as a great event by the entire Jaina community of his age. It is quite significant a discovery and a valuable addition to the Sanskrit literature published so far.

N. M. KANSARA

Chikitsā, Volume I, edited by DR. SHYAM KISHORE LAL AND DR. ARUN M. PARKHE, Pub. by Dharmatma Tatyaji Maharaj Memorial Medical Relief Trust, 1979, English Section 104 pages, Hindi Section 37 pages + 39 pages, Price: Rs. 35/-.

There is increasing evidence that more and more serious notice is being taken of India's ancient medical system viz. Āyurveda not only in this country, but also in foreign countries. There was a period in the world's medical history when it had reigned supreme even before the Arab took it over after the 7th century A.D. it was being studied in countries like Persia and Egypt. The impression that the teachings of Āyurveda had a foundation in Indian superstition was a late western discovery. However, it was realized during the last century that the only effective herbal remedy against a dreaded infection like leprosy was known to Āyurveda; and about four decades ago, a unique herbal prescription against mal-developed blood pressure was again found to be that indicated by Ayurvedic medicine.

With startling advances in the methods and apparatus of modern medical science in its various branches, the opportunity to be more precise along scientific lines, about certain broad indications furnished in Ayurvedic literature and by current practitioners of that ancient medical technique, are coming more and more to the surface. When utilized, it discloses in a growing measure that there was substantial accurate basis for several centuries old claims of Āyurveda, both in regard to its general approach to problems of ill health and in respect of treating specific diseases, and that Āyurvedic prescriptions seem to have been founded upon a wide and rational evaluation of clinical experience.

It is in this background that we welcome an addition to the literature on the scientific appraisal of Āyurvedic principles and techniques in this volume of research papers, entitled " Chikitsā " Volume 1, 1979, published by Dharmatma Tatyaji Maharaj Memorial Medical Relief Trust. It contains 34 research papers, whose topics can be classified into :

(a) Purely botanical studies from advanced medical point of view are contained in five research papers.

(b) Studies of Āyurvedic treatment of specific diseases or health complaints are contained in twelve research papers. An important contribution is on successful treatment of leucoderma.

(c) Exposition of basic principles of Āyurveda is contained in eight research papers, one of which deals with Āyurvedic method of identification and mode of investigation; yet another deals with I-tsing's observations on bath treatment.

(d) General aspects of Āyurveda in a relation to modern living conditions are dealt with eleven research papers. They incude Shri M. S. Parkhe's important contribution on improvement in environmental public hygiene and Sarvashri Khan and Chaghtail's on Unani concept and treatment of jaundice.

These 34 research papers are sufficient to indicate the wide range and scope in which the principles of Āyurveda have been found relevant to modern conditions of both public health and personal hygiene and good living. Within the pages of this volume, there is discussion, both of general principles and summaries of scientific experiments. Accordingly, it is a witness to the firm contradiction, in rational terms, of the unscientific belief that Āyurveda was superstition or that its practitioners were quacks. On the other hand, the significance and value of Āyurveda and its practice would enable bringing within the reach of the poor masses of a developing country. solutions of health problems on definite and valid lines, suited to a low purchasing power and yet sanctioned by results of modern research. Dr. A.M. Parkhe and Dr. S. K Lal, who have edited these research papers have rendered admirable service to the cause of Āyurveda.

S. V. SOHONI

Ṣoḍaśa Granthāḥ (*Sixteen Works of Mahā Prabhu Śrīmad Vallabhācarya*) Vol. I Gen. Editor : GOSWAMY SHYAM MANOHAR ; S'rī Vallabha Era 502 (A.D. 1979), Bombay, Price : Not stated. (Off-set reprint of (1) *S'rī Yamunāṣṭaka* pp. 61, (2) *Bālabodha* pp. 43, (3) *Siddhānta-muktāvali* pp. 7[illegible], (4) *Puṣṭi-pravāha-maryādā* pp. 56, (5) *Siddhānta-rahasya* pp. 67)

Śrī Vallabhācārya (A D. 1479-1531), the famous promulgator of the S'uddhādvaita school of the Vedānta and the founder of a special cult of Bhakti called *Puṣṭi-mārga*, has a large and influential following in Gujarat, Rajasthan, the U.P. and other states. But unfortunately, his literary and philosophical contribution (works) anyhow came to be neglected. Thus, only a fragment of his commentary on the Pūrva-Mīmāmsā and his excellent commentary on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa called *Subodhinī* are available. His *Sūkṣmā Tīkā* is lost. Some of his small treatises (called *Prakaraṇas*) printed herein are found incomplete. Even a devout scholar of S'uddhādvaita like the late M. T. Teliwālā was constrained to remark : " It is a pity that no one seems to take care to preserve even those of the writings of Vallabhācārya and his descendants which are available at present." (Introduction to *Puṣṭi-pravāha-maryādā*).

Fortunately, the period of apathy is over. After the fifth birth-centennial of Vallabhācārya, his present descendants seem to have decided to republish at least one *Prakaraṇa* each of Vallabha's work by off-set printing. Goswamy Shri Shyam Manoharji (one of his descendants) undertook the responsiblity of organising and supervising these reprints and writing a brief introduction to each *Prakaraṇa*.

Shri Shyam Manoharji is eminently suitable for the job, as, besides his graduation in Philosophy, he studied S'uddhādvaita under his illustrious father, the late Dikshitji Maharaj. and Vyākaraṇa (Sanskrit Grammar), Nyāya (Logic), Mīmāṁsā and Sāṅkhya under profound scholars like Krishna-Madhav Jha, A. Subrahmanya Śastri and others. In his introductions to these *Prakaraṇas* Shri Shyam Manoharji does not merely give traditional account regarding the composition of the work but elucidates the subject-matter of the texts and tries to give constructive guidance to readers in case of incomplete works. Thus in *Puṣṭi-Pravāha-Maryādā*, he outlines the three possible ways of classifying *Jīvas*, modestly confessing at the same time that it is difficult to say which was intended by the Ācārya.

As mentioned above, the book under review, consists of five small treatises. the 1st is *Yamunāṣṭaka* (A hymn of 8 verses in praise of the Yamunā). The Yamunā has a special association with Lord Kṛṣṇa and as such she is highly revered by Śrī Vallabha (V). The legend goes that in A.D. 1605, while V. was trying to ascertain the site of ancient Gokula, the Yamunā appeared in person and showed him the location. Overwhelmed with gratitude and devotion, V. composed this hymn spontaneously, eulogizing the threefold (viz. *Ādhi-bhautika*, *Ādhyātmika* and *Ādhi-daivika*) aspects of that river which enables *Puṣṭi-jīvas* to visualize the Lord. In fact, the Yamunā has a significant place in V.'s *Puṣṭi-mārga*. She is regarded as being endowed with eight divine powers (*Aiśvaryas*) such as potencies to confer spiritual powers, intensifying devotional love for the Lord and establishing contacts with Him etc. Due to her special importance in *Puṣṭi-mārga*, the present hymn is regarded as a *Maṅgalācaraṇa* (a benedictory hymn) for these *Ṣoḍaśagranthas*. The hymn is not lacking in poetic beauty as the river is portrayed as a celestial deity with waves as her arms and her symphonic flow as her pleasant gait (Verse 5).

The hymn has four lucid commentaries by authoritative pontiffs like Viṭṭhaleśa, Puruṣottama.

This work is an off-set reprint of C.H. Shastri's edition of *Yamunāṣṭaka* (of V.S. i.e. Vikrama Saṁvat 1985) by Goswamy Shri Govindalalji of Nathadwara Peeth.

Bālabodha :

This small work of nineteen and a half verses deals with the tenets of Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Śaiva Tantra and the Vaiṣṇava Tantra and establishes the validity of *Puṣṭi-mārga*. V. is said to have taught it to a merchant called Narayanadasa of Ambala at Dwarka in V.S. 1550. There are three commentaries: (*Prakāśa* by Devakinandana, *Vivṛti* by Puruṣottama, and Dvārakeśa's Ṭīkā). The present text is an off-set reprint of C. H. Shastri's edition (of V.S. 1983) and is published by Goswamy Ranchhodrayaji of Mathura.

Siddhānta-muktāvalī (A pearl-necklace of the established principles): This essence of the *Bhāgavata* (*Sva-śāstrasarvasva*) was composed in 21 verses to elucidate the principal tenets of the *Śuddhādvaita* or *Brahmavāda* to one Acyutadasa Sonathia. It explains the different means available to different types of *Jīvas*. According to V., service to Lord Kṛṣṇa on mental level (*Mānasī sevā*) is both the means (*Sādhana*) and the end (*Phala*) to be achieved and is the most important duty (Verse 1). The Grace of the Lord is both the *Sādhana* and

Phala of *Bhakti* (Verse 18). The world (*Jagat*) is the *Ādhi-bhautika* form of "the *Nāma-rūpa-akṣara-Brahma*); the *Akṣara-Brahma* is the *Ādhyātmika* form of the Lord and Lord Kṛṣṇa is the *Ādhi-daivika* form. Hence for understanding the *Brahma-vāda*, one should dedicate one's intellect and mind to Lord Kṛṣṇa.

V. then distinguishes between two kinds of devotees (*Bhaktas*) called "*Maryādā Bhakta*" and "*Puṣṭi Bhakta*" and concludes by declaring that the Path of Devotion is superior to the Path of Knowledge (*Jñāna Mārga*).

The text is commented upon by eminent and authoritative scholars like Viṭṭhaleśa, Goukulnāth, Puruṣottama and others. The text with commentaries was first published by M. T. Teliwala and D. V. Sankalia in V.S. 1979. The present edition is an offset reprint published by Vallabha Vidya Peeth and Śri V. P. C. Trust of Kolhapur.

Puṣṭi-Pravāha-Maryādā: This incomplete work describes the characteristics of the *Puṣṭi*, *Pravāha* and *Maryādā* types of Souls. Puṣṭi souls regard Kṛṣṇa as both *Pramāṇa* and *Prameya* as well as the means (*Sādhana*) and the fruit (*Phala*). The text appears to be incomplete as the details of the *Pravāha* and *Maryādā* souls are not given. The general editor, Shri G. Shyam Manoharji gives the classification of these *Jīvas*, though he modestly expresses his inability to fathom the implications of V.

The text contains four commentaries and was first published by M. T. Teliwala and D. V. Sankalia in V.S. 1980. The present edition is an off-set reprint of the above edition and is published by Goswamy Shri Vrajabhushanlalji of Baroda.

The last work included here is *Siddhānta-Rahasya*. It deals with *Brahma-saṁbandha* or establishment of relationship with the Brahman by total surrender of one's everything to the Lord. It was written in V.S. 1549 at Gokul. This small tract of eight and a half verses was so popular that eleven commentaries were written on it by authoritative pontiffs and scholars of the Śuddhādvaita school.

This was originally edited and published by M. T. Teliwala and D. V. Sankalia in V.S. 1980 (A.D. 1924). The present edition is an off-set reprint by Goswamy Shri Devakinandanji of Mathura.

The present pontiffs of the different Peethas of the Śuddhādvaita School deserve congratulations and gratitude not only of their followers but of students of Indian Philosophy in general for making available these *Prakaraṇas* of the *Ṣoḍaśa Granthas* of Shrī Vallabhācārya. We are eagerly waiting for the republication of the remaining Granthas.

G. V. TAGARE

Mohabhaṅgam : Sanskrit Mahākāvya composed by RASIK VIHARI JOSHI, Pub by University of Jodhpur, Jodhpur, Rajasthan, 1st ed., pp. v + 100, 1978, Price Rs. 30.

The *Mahākāvya Mohabhaṅgam* is divided into eight cantos, comprising of 330 Sanskrit verses in various metres. The theme of the *Mahākāvya* has been taken up from the anecdotes of the philosopher-saint named Saubhari depicted in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and the *Bhāgavata-Mahāpurāṇa*. It has been recast with the poetic imagery of the author with a lofty message and relevances to the modern world. The paurāṇika Saint Saubhari was a distinguished Vedic scholar. Bands of students and scholars assembled in his *Āśrama* in search of knowledge from every corner of India. Once he noticed some fishes in amorous activity while he was practising penance submerged in the water of a river. The scene aroused in him latent sex urge. He approached King Māndhātā asking for the hand of one of his daughters in marriage. The King was perplexed with the age old wrinkled body of Saubhari. He could neither accept nor deny the request as he was rather scared of his supernatural powers. He, therefore, took the pretex that he had no objection if any one of his daughters willingly chose him to be her hasband. Saubhari, by the efficacy of his yogic powers, assumed the form of a charming young prince and all the fifty daughters of the King Māndhātā chose him as their husband. The Saint married all of them and took them to his hermitage where by his super-natural powers he got constructed luxurious palaces, beautiful gardens and lakes and provided to his wives. all pleasures of the mundane world. He assumed fifty bodies through the power of *Kāya-vyūha* and enjoyed to the highest extent. Time went on and he got sons and grandsons but his desires never came to an end. He, then realised that sensual pleasure could never give permanent and absolute satisfaction and therefore it was wise to give up objects of pleasures.

Sanskrit Poetics proclaims four ends of human life, viz. Righteousness (*Dharma*), Prosperity (*Artha*), Sex (*Kāma*) and Liberation (*Mokṣa*) as the main purpose of poetic composition. The present *Mahākāvya*, through worldly pleasures and sex, takes the reader to seek after final liberation the summun bonum of human life. The poet brings forth through a psychological dialogue between Saubhari and his fifty wives that one cannot understand the futility of sensuous pleasures just by ignoring them or being indifferent to them but one can certainly understand their futility through direct experience.

Since the *Mahākāvya Mohabhaṅgam* helps the reader to dispell the darkness of ignorance through the teaching of the righteous path to obtain liberation, it may be properly designated as a ' *Śāstrakāvya* ', like the *Mahābhārata*, which builds up the epitome of the palace of the tenets of philosophical thought and Ultimate Truth-Reality with the dexterity of poetic architecture. Liberation is the final teaching-goal of this *Mahākāvya* and, therefore, the predominent Sentiment (*Rasa*) in the *Mahākāvya* is ' *Śānta* '. Abhinavagupta has clearly supported the supremacy of ' *Śānta Rasa* ' stating that ' Sentiment ' (*Rasa*) is an aesthetic experience of highest bliss through the poetry. This experience is on its peak in *Śānta Rasa* as it takes the reader to attain liberation.

> ' *Mokṣa-phalakatvena cāyam parama-puruṣārthaniṣṭhatayā*
> *sarva-rasebhyaḥ pradhānatamaḥ* '

The poet has remarkably nurtured ' *Śānta Rasa* ' in the *Mahākāvya* along with a happy blending of several other *Rasas* such as *Saṁbhoga Śṛṅgāra, Adbhuta* etc. conspicuous among them is the Sentiment Devotion (*Bhakti*).

Saubhari, the main character of the *Māhakāvya*, is a ' *Dhīra-Praśānta* ' type of hero who overshadows all other characters like Māndhātā and his daughters by the magnanimity of his qualities and personality. He is an accomplished Saint possessed of super-natural powers. The deceptive glitter of sensual objects bewitched him due to his past actions and carried him away from the path of righteousness. The experience of transitory sensuous pleasures made him realise their fickleness and futility and he finally abdicated them. The poet has most successfully brought forth the transformation in the main character and has, thus, truly exhibited his remarkable capacity of characterisation. The hero of the *Mahākāvya* is not a stereotyped character as we generaliy come across in Sanskrit poetry but he has a revolving personality. He falters like an ordinary human being and falls in the trap of mundane pleasures. We, therefore, find in his personality a process of constant change and rechange from good to bad and bad to good.

A close scrutiny of the *Mahākāvya* bears ample testimony to the poetic skill of very high order of the author which is exuberent with new grammatical feats, sublimacy of philosophical thought, ardent devotion, manificent rhetorical devices, musical resonance of metres and above all the delineation of nuptial ceremonies, manners and customs and cultural traditions of ancient India. The poet confidently demonstrates his profound erudition of Sanskrit grammar and lexicons by the profuse use of new grammatical verbal forms such as both types of Frequentatives, Nominal Verbs, Desideratives, Perfect and Aorists (in Active and Passive) in abundance. He handles long compounds with a command over Sanskrit language, preserving the beauty and accuracy of grammar, idiom, verb and syntax. Surprisingly, such grammatical acrobatics (canto I, 21-28), touched with the magical wand of Dr. Joshi, do not mar the charm of poetry but on the other hand enhance symmetry in poem, reverberate metrical rhythm and musical harmony. As one recites these verses one is fascinated by the amazing ability of the poet for constantly employing such grammatical devices to heighten sonorous effect. Even though one may not understand the meaning, the simple recitation of these verses leaves an abiding sound impact on the mind of the reader as may be seen in the following verse :

" *Vandéhaṁ mantra-mūrtim, Praṇata-hṛdayago yas tamo dandahītāt.*
Śraddhām me tantanītāt, rasika-hṛdayago dedavītāt sva-dhāmnā |
tam Kṛṣṇam toṣṭavīmo, madhura-guṇa-mayīm mālikām jāgrathīmaḥ
pūjārthaṁ nannamīmo, hṛdaya-nidhi-hitam Mādhāvam popuṣīmaḥ " ||

He displays unique ability of reading and feeling the pulse of words. He is exceptionally dexterous in the selection of words and metres in which he gracefully clothes his ideas and weaves new patterns. The detachment is on the high peak when he says

'In old age the son behaves like an enemy, even hundreds of wives envy, grandsons desire wealth and death. Wise men, therefore, censure torn up body in the house and abandon sex and desires.'

putaḥ śatravatīh jarjara-tanau bhāryā-śatī dviṣṭate
pautraḥ Kāmayate dhanam nidhanamapyāśābhilāśānvitaḥ

In this verse the metre '*Śārdūlavikrīḍita*', the appropriate choice of words and sense, and matching sounds in the garb of the figure alliteration (Vṛttyanuprāsa) drive home the reader together with the intended purpose of renunciation.

The rhetorical devices such as simile (*upamā*), metaphor (*rūpaka*), etc. have not been forcibly brought in for decorative purpose or outward show and glamour but they automatically step in one by one to reveal the combination of poetic arrangement, poetic imagery and imagination and thus serve the poet in creating vivid pictures of various situations. He, for example, describing the spell-binding beauty of a lady says that 'The lady expressed sexual desire to the Saint through her eyes. She was a heap of lustre, abode of new qualities, a casket sweetness-dripping nectar, a result of all auspicious deeds or a tablet of unlimited beauty'

Kadambaṁ Kāntīnām, nava-nava-gunānāṁ sadanam,
Sudhāyā mañjūṣā, madhu-rasa-jharī Kāpi vanitā |
phalaṁ vā puṇyānām, nīravadhika- lāvaṇya-guṭikā
yayāce netrābhyāṁ, munimatha ca bhogaṁ ca ṁuditā ||
Canto III-8

In this verse the elegant '*Śikhariṇī*' metre and the figure garland of metaphor (*niraṅga mālā-rūpaka*) magnificently protrudes the exquisite glamour of a lovely damsel.

Similar is the case with the use of all other figures. Only when the poet has to corroborate his own ideas, he employs the figure (*arthāntaranyāsa*), as is seen in the following :

(1) 'Who can obstruct the opening gates of a ripe destiny ?
Ko vā dvārāṇi roddhuṁ prabhavati niyateḥ hanta pākam vrajantyāḥ
Canto II.4

(2) 'The wise do not talk meaningless.'
Nirarthakaṁ na pravadanti paṇḍitāḥ
Canto II.45

(3) 'Even great men are defamed when destiny is unfavourable.'
Vidhau vāme bhūte bhavati mahatāmapyapayaśaḥ
Canto V.38

(4) 'Longing never comes to an end.'
Na vā jagati lālasā kvacidapi praśāntā bhavet
Canto VII.15

(5) 'In whom does not revolve the wheel of destiny.'
Niyati-cakra-maho parivartanaṁ, śrayati Kutra na hanta śarīriṣu
Canto VII.41

(6) 'The detached person attains liberation.'
vairāgya-dhīḥ vijayate labhate ca mokṣam
Canto VIII.10

(7) 'None can escape the result of his own actions.'
na kopi tarituṁ phalaṁ prabhavati svakaṁ Karmajaṁ
Canto VII. 13

The figure illustration (*dṛṣṭānta*) serves the poet to illustrate. The poet has his own innovations in the selection of the standards of comparisons (*upamāna*). Being a profound scholar of Sanskrit grammar, Indian philosophical systems and other disciplines of Sanskrit literature, his standards of comparison are not limited to one particular sphere but they come from different fields. As per the demand of a situation, the poet compares gross with subtle and subtle with gross. This may be observed in the following two examples:

(1) 'The blue sapphire studded at the bank of the pond looked like the dark-blue locks of hair, ruby studded on the steps looked like love-red glances and the water like the camphor-white complexion of the body. Thus the lady appeared splendid like a pond as if she was *Prakṛti* of *Sāṃkhya* philosophy.'
Rāmā puṣkariṇī babhau guṇa-mayī māyeva Sāṁkhye matā
Canto V.34

(2) 'As the milk changes into curds, the whole universe changes except soul'
Yathā kṣīram loke dadhi-ghaṭita-pariṇāma-mayete
tathā sarvo lokaḥ pariṇamata Ātma-vyatikaraḥ
Canto VIII.17

The descriptions of Spring (I-32-34), young damsels (III. 3-41), wedding ceremony (IV. 2-37), *vāsa-gṛha* (IV. 38-41), garden (V. 8-21), garden-sports (V. 24-28) and lakes (V. 29-36) attest poet's power of graphic delineation. The description of wedding ceremony is most remarkable as it throws ample light on the rituals and social customs of ancient India. The poet is most graphic in the delineation of animate and inanimate objects such as gardens, lakes, the capital and Royal Assembly Hall of the King Māndhātā, the palace, young girls, customs and manners. On account of his poetic fancy and the scheme of colour combination of proper words, appropriate metres and imagination, the portrait drawn by him is very lively and splendid. It may be relished in the following example :

> 'Unable to decide the depth of the navel-beauty-well of the lady, the Saint Saubhari pulled the hair-rope of navel upholding the breastpitchers'

Kasyāścid romarājim kalaśa-nibha-kucāambinīṁ rajjurūpāṁ |
dṛṣṭvā tan nābhi-kūpa-bhramadanukalita-prānta-bhūrāptkāmaḥ |
paryāptā vā na veyam gahanatara-tala-sparśinīṁ nābhivāpīṁ
gantuṁ tāṁ rūpa-vāpīṁ sucarita-caritaḥ Saubhariḥ sañcakarṣa ||
Canto III.13

The Sanskrit scholars will definitely relish in this *Mahākāvya* the sweet melodies and very high poetic imagination with lucid and charming diction. Of course, there are arid regions in the *Mahākāvya* which smack of obstruse grammatical formations particularly of frequentatives such as *bābhraṣṭi*, *tāsthalti*, *tāstabdhi*, *dardaṣṭi* and purposefully woven long compounds such as '*nūnaṁ snānāvagāhonmukha-parama-dhṛtivyāja-saṁbhāvayitrī*' (III.14), but such patches are far and few between which does not deter its sweetness and perspicuity. The only grammatical fault which has come to my notice is the use of '*Sampaśya*' in place of the correct form '*Saṁdṛśya*' (VI.36). Obviously, this seems to be an oversight printing mistake as the author's command over Sanskrit grammar is justified throughout the *Mahākāvya*.

In fine, it will not be impertinent to say that the *Mahākāvya Mohabhaṅgam* is conspicuous for the felicity of expression, minute shades of meaning, dexterity in the choice of metres, striking poetic imagery, poet's extraordinary power of delineation and above all for the style which changes from time to time from grandiloquent to simple and vice versa. The *Mahākāvya*, written in classical ornate style of poetry, expounding the salient features of ancient Indian culture and philosophical thought, testifies to Rasik Vihari Joshi's intrinsic poetic ability. A critical and impartial evaluation of the *Mahākāvya* rates the poem par excellence according to the poetic standards laid down by Sanskrit poeticians because it not only pleases the reader but also preaches like a lady the lofty ideals of virtuous life. Dr. R. V. Joshi has made a commendable contribution through the composition of this *Mahākāvya* to modern Sanskrit literature. The *Mahākāvya* also includes an English summary, introduction and index. The printing and get up of the book is very attractive for which the publisher and printer deserve full credit.

I am fascinated to opine on the *Mahākāvya Mohabhaṅgam* in my own five *Āryās* :

kokila-Kaṇṭha-śikhariṇī Śārdūlavikrīḍitaṁ vā gahanam |
Kūjati garjati kuñje' raṇye Rasikasya Kāvyānām || 1 ||

Yasminśchandonādo vividhālaṁkṛtī Rasa-dhvaniścāpi |
varṇana-citraṁ vastu ca parisphuritamivākṣṇoḥ purataḥ || 2 ||

Adharīkaroti nūnaṁ mocārasanibhamadhura-rasāsvādam |
madhurimṇā hi Rasānāṁ Varṇāṇāṁ Chandasāṁ guṇānāñca || 3 ||

Mādhvī-rasa-nisyandaścyavatīva-varṇa-saṁghaṭanayā yatra |
ramayati manaḥ sumanasāṁ yathā Pārijāta-makarandaḥ || 4 ||

Nānā-Śāstra-rahasyaṁ Caturvarga-phala-prāpti-hetuñca |
bodhayati Mohabhaṅgaṁ Saubhari-muni-kathā-vyājena || 5 ||

R. S. NAGAR

Exile And Kingdom; by ROMILA THAPAR, published by the Mythic Society, Bangalore, 1978, Pp. 43, Price Rs. 10/-.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that the academic world has obtained a very thought-provoking monograph entitled '*Exile And Kingdom*' from Dr. Romila Thapar. As mentioned by the author only some thoughts on the *Rāmāyaṇa* are put forth but they are on crucial points and their presentation is done in a very scientific manner as a result the link remains preserved in tact. The author has covered up a very wide sphere of thoughts pertaining to *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* in such a small compass of 43 printed pages. Thus rendering her work full of deep significance she has maintained a very high standard of scholarship. Judging from the point of view of matter as well as manner complete satisfaction is obtained from this monograph.

Her critical as well as novel approach is attested from some of the thoughts given vent to in this monograph. Some of her observations are appropriate and hence very valuable. We shall take a bird's eye view of a few such observations.

On p. 1 para 2, the author has very aptly remarked—" Historians working on the Indian epics have largely concentrated on the virtually impossible task of dating the epics, trying to authenticate the events or using fragments as source material on a variety of subjects ".

Similarly on p. 10 para 2 it is remarked—" It (Videha) is recognised as being an ancient land, once a monarchy and later a *gaṇa-sangha*, a tribal oligarchy or tribal chiefship ". It is further continued, " It is curious that nowhere in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, even as later interpolations, is there any mention of the *gaṇa-sangha* system which flourished in the environs of Kośala if not in Kośala itself. Evidently only monarchy had political sanction from the author and the redactors". The same idea is continued on p. 17 para 3, thus—"Kingship alone is legitimate and its absence can only result in anarchy....... The association of rain with benevolent rule was an established axiom in early Indian political thought".

On p. 18 para 1, it is remarked—"The *Rāmāyaṇa* therefore presents a rather orthodox picture of political legitimacy, reflecting firm faith in monarchy as the only acceptable system".

On the same page para 2, it is stated thus—"An established monarchical system must have an equally established system of succession".

Further on pp. 10-11 para 3, 1 respectively it is noted as follows : "A characteristic of the Ikṣvāku lineage in Purāṇic sources is that succession to kingship, both in Ayodhyā and Videha, went always to the eldest son. Primogeniture indicates a society where land rights have been established". On p. 11 para 1, the author further continues: "The recording of primogeniture among the *Sūrya-vamśa* contrasts with the pattern of the *Candra-vamśa* or *Aila* lineages where the distribution and expansion of the junior lineages is also recorded. The listing of all the segments is as essential to the *Candra-vamśa* as it is absent in the *Sūrya-vamśa.* This could point to the portrayal at least, of a more developed state system among the *Sūrya-vamśa.*

On p. 16 para 2, regarding the extent of the kingdom of Kośala it is remarked—"The kingdom of Kośala is by no means vast since by the third day's journey from Ayodhyā, Rāma had come to its frontier .. .. ".

On p. 28 para 2, it is observed– "The historical theme of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is that of the triumph of the kingdom over the forest or the condition of exile".

On p. 25 para 3, it is appropriately remarked—"It is curious that no mention is made of the Buddhist and Jainas in any of the later interpolations of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*".

On p. 18 para 3, it is remarked—"Vedic orthodoxy is sustained by the ritual of sacrifice".

On p. 22 para 1, it is observed—"It is interesting that the characteristics of an evolved state system—extensive agriculture, urban centres, centralisation of political power, the evolution of caste society—are referred to more frequently in the first and last books of the text and with reference to Kośala".

Numerous such observations that are bereft of controversy are come across in this monograph. Doubtlessly they testify to the thorough study of *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* carried on by the learned author.

She deserves heartiest congratulations.

B. N. BHATT

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